





Over the last ten years there has been no 'economic miracle'. Thatcher's economic policies have not been able to reverse the relative decline of the British economy in spite of the massive revenues from North Sea oil. Thatcher's successes in the economic sphere have been very few. Her real successes have been political ones.

These have ensured that the fruits of the economic growth in the years following the devastation wrought by the government on British industry during 1979-81 have been very unevenly divided. The main beneficiaries have been her supporters – the rich, the middle classes, and crucially, a significant proportion of the better-off sections of the working class. The less well off, the poor and the unemployed have been driven into ever deeper poverty. This divided nation has been the key to Thatcher's political success as the crisis of British capitalism has deepened.

Tory economic strategy has fundamentally depended on the monopoly profits of North Sea oil and the growing profits generated from British imperialism's rapidly expanding assets abroad. In that lies its vulnerability. As we have consistently argued in *FRFI*, the earnings from Britain's assets abroad will not be sufficient to compensate for the growing deterioration in the balance of trade resulting from the long-run relative decline of British manufacturing industry as North Sea oil revenues run down.

The process of economic decline has been a very slow one, much slower and less dramatic than we had expected. There has been no cataclysmic collapse but a very slow, and irreversible decline. Even after the second worst monthly balance of payments deficit of £2.1bn was announced for July, the stockmarket continued to rise with the FT-SE 100 index 11.6 points higher – less than 50 points off London's all-time high. As one economist poignantly stated 'we are witness to something like a military disaster played in slow motion – some inglorious charge of the Light Brigade – and no amount of ceremony or swank can have the slightest effect on the outcome.' (Wynne Godley, *Observer* 27 August 1989)

A year ago Britain's credit-financed consumer boom was slammed into reverse as interest rates were raised eight times over three months to reach 12 per cent. The balance of payments deficit continued to deteriorate. Prices began to rise more quickly and by summer this year inflation was above 8 per cent. Interest

# Slow drift into recession

rates had been raised two more times in an attempt to prop up the pound and curb inflation. By May they were at 14 per cent. Still the balance of payments deficit got worse and by July the high interest rates were threatening to drive the economy into recession.

In August it was announced that economic output had fallen for the first time in four years. An 0.04 per cent drop in output had been recorded in the second quarter of this year. The Confederation of British Industry's August industrial trends survey reported manufacturers' order books down for the fourth consecutive month and output rates much lower than a year ago. Even if interest rates do not rise again most economic surveys are predicting growth rates this year and next at under half that recorded in 1988.

With the recent industrial action forcing pay settlements of around 9 per cent, average earnings are set to go above the recently recorded 9.25 per cent even before the autumn pay round begins. The Tory government's repeatedly stated priority to lower inflation can only be brought about through a squeeze on profits. Such a squeeze on profits cannot be achieved without causing a recession. As an editorial in the *Financial Times* stated 'getting on top of inflation' plausibly means a recession cannot be avoided... The only question is how severe that recession will be'.

Since the 1981 low, the rate of profit on industrial and commercial capital (excluding North Sea oil) has continuously risen to reach over 11 per cent in 1988, the highest level for over 20 years. This has not however provided the large scale investment to tackle unemployment (still way above the level of 1979 and set to rise again) and create in Britain the highly profitable and internationally competitive economy of Tory dreams. Investment in manufacturing industry has only recently reached the 1979 level and no less than five economic forecast-

ing organisations believe it is set to fall again in 1990.

British capitalists show little confidence in Britain's economic prospects as massive amounts of capital are exported abroad. From 1985 to 1988 direct investment abroad by British capitalists amounted to 18.7 per cent of gross fixed capital formation in Britain. The figures for Britain's main competitors were considerably lower at 2.8 per cent for Japan, 4.1 per cent for the US and 4.5 per cent for West Germany. With the very high interest rates in Britain the situation is bound to get worse.

Industrial and commercial com-

terest rates on this debt has yet to be seen. It could be very serious. For example, if the debt ceased to rise altogether in response to the high interest rates then personal consumption could fall by as much as 10 per cent, leading to a recession comparable in magnitude to 1979-81.

We have argued that the Tory government has fundamentally failed to hold back the long run decline of the British economy. On the contrary it has got worse. This is dramatically illustrated by the balance of payments statistics over a number of years.

	Current Account (£m)			
	1980	1985	1987	1988
<b>Visible balance</b>				
manufactured goods	5426	-3623	-7829	-14830
oil	308	8101	4183	2787
other goods	-4379	-7610	-7283	-8783
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1355</b>	<b>-3132</b>	<b>-10929</b>	<b>-20826</b>
<b>Invisible balance</b>				
financial and other services	3883	7637	9515	9478
interest profit and dividends	-203	2762	4987	5619
other services incl. govt.				
transfers	-2215	-4064	-7244	-8888
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1465</b>	<b>6335</b>	<b>7258</b>	<b>6209</b>
<b>Current balance</b>	<b>2820</b>	<b>3203</b>	<b>-3671</b>	<b>-14617</b>

panies in Britain went into financial deficit in 1988, for the first time since 1979. In the 12 months to 1988 these companies' exposure to short-term interest rate changes almost doubled with their net interest rate liabilities rising to almost £50bn. The higher interest rates will squeeze profits, lower investment and cut back borrowing.

The rise in profits was partially fuelled by the credit boom of the last few years. The scale of expansion of household credit and consumption was dramatic. Household indebtedness, including mortgages, had reached £300bn by the end of 1988 (£90.5bn at the end of 1980) equivalent to just about 100 per cent of the annual flow of household disposable income. In just one year in 1988 it grew by £54bn. The effect of high in-

Britain's visible trade deficit nearly doubled last year from £10.9bn to £20.9bn with the current account deficit leaping from £3.7bn to £14.6bn. This year promises to be even worse with the trade deficit at £14.2bn in seven months. After an estimated invisible surplus of £2.7bn, this gives a current account deficit of £11.5bn in the year so far – an annual rate of nearly £20bn.

In only three of the last ten years has Britain had a visible trade surplus. This occurred in 1980-82 as North Sea oil came on stream and oil exports, particularly in 1981 and 1982, initially masked the decline in manufacturing. The surplus in oil reached its peak in 1985 and has been declining ever since, being only £2.8bn in 1988. However over the

same period the trade balance in manufactured and semi-manufactured goods has dramatically deteriorated from a surplus of £5.4bn in 1980 to a massive deficit of £14.8bn in 1988. The invisible surplus, arising from British imperialism's assets abroad and the activities of the City, since 1986, when a record surplus of £9.4bn was achieved, has not been sufficient to compensate for the long run decline of manufacturing industry and the run down of North Sea oil. In fact that surplus has been falling since 1986 as the City has faced an increasingly competitive challenge from other financial centres and particularly that of Japanese finance capital. Since the end of 1988 Tokyo has replaced London as the largest international financial centre.

The government is hoping that high interest rates by curbing consumer borrowing and consumption will hold back the growth of imported goods and reduce the balance of payments deficit. So far it has failed. Whatever the result the situation is bound to get worse. If interest rates do not have an immediate and significant impact on consumer spending and borrowing then we could face a period of low growth, a deteriorating external balance with an eventual sterling crisis followed by accelerating inflation. If the effect of high interest rates is more dramatic and immediate than as companies faced with a profit squeeze cut back investment Britain would face a full blown recession.

These developments will have their political consequences. To maintain the profitability of British capitalism, the Thatcher government will inevitably be forced to attack the living standards of broader and broader sections of the working class as well as some sections of the middle class. High interest rates are already hitting Thatcher's houseowning constituency. It is estimated that some 400,000 households with mortgages are now in arrears of two months or more. As the economy stagnates or goes into recession the impact of the Poll Tax will be much more politically significant. Workers will be forced to go into battle to prevent a fall in living standards. The political mood in the country will begin to change.

These developments have taken a long time coming. But they have confirmed the overall economic analysis that we have been arguing for many years in *FRFI*. The material conditions which have allowed the Tory government to divide the working class, sustaining and nourishing its more privileged layers, while savagely attacking the poor have indeed come to an end.



## Defence campaign fights back in Dewsbury

ALEX FELLOWES & AURIEL FERMO

As reported in *FRFI* 88, 59 Asian people were arrested and charged with Public Order offences after the British National Party rally in Dewsbury on 24 June. Since the arrests bail conditions have been imposed preventing the 59 from attending public meetings or rallies and they have had their passports confiscated. The Kirklees Black Workers Group (KBWG) has set up a defence campaign which had a well-attended public meeting, despite police scare tactics in the media.

The police have been trying to get a ban on all rallies in the Dewsbury area. This has been supported by Dewsbury Labour Council and local Labour MP, Ann Taylor. Ann Taylor refused to attend the public meeting and has previously turned down an invitation to speak at the KBWG rally. Instead she went to 'observe' both this and the BNP rally, 'so I could see it from both angles... Now I have got a better picture of what is being said, I have a balanced attitude.'

This 'balanced attitude' has validated the BNP rally and has also failed to defend the Asian community under fascist and racist state attack.

This was the message that black people at the KBWG public meetings hammered home. As Atma Singh said, 'She [Ann Taylor] wants to appease the racist voters of Dewsbury. I think she wants to win voters rather than see for herself that black people are attacked.'

Only one Dewsbury Councillor came to the meeting – Sue Powell. She expressed her sense of isolation on the council and brought her support to the defence campaign: 'the need to get rid of fascism in this town is more important than any abuse we may get along the way,' she said.

The Labour Party's electoral concerns as usual outweigh their commitment to fighting racism. It has consistently failed to defend black people under racist attack, and never will. Only a campaign built in the community and outside the racist self-interest of the Labour Party will effectively be able to fight back. ■

**Picket Dewsbury Magistrates Court**  
Friday 22 September 9.30am.

LORNA REID

The first official figures for non-payment in Scotland revealed that in the Lothian and Grampian Regions 160,000 people have not paid a single penny Poll Tax since payment started on 1 April this year. Another 66,000 in Lothian are two months behind in their payments. Lothian Regional Council plans to issue 121,000 seven-day warnings to those who are three months or more behind in their payments. This is the first stage in the process of Poll Tax debt recovery before bailiffs are issued with instructions to conduct warrant sales.

Three Labour councillors on Lothian Regional Council, Anne Aylett, Tony Kinder and Keith Simpson, have come under fire from Pentlands Constituency Labour Party for seeking support from the Region's Labour Party branches for a lobby by the Lothian Anti-Poll Tax Federation to demand that the council abandon the warrant sales procedure. Regional Party vice-chairman, Councillor Donald

# Fight the poll tax

Anderson, supports the motion of censure and attacked the three for breaching party policy: 'The debate on tactics regarding the Poll Tax is over... there is not even a remote possibility of the Labour Party altering its position... We must remain within the law.'

While the Labour Party presses ahead, somewhat unsuccessfully, with its attempts to collect the Poll Tax in Scotland, Tory backbenchers are mounting pressure on Thatcher to ensure that their constituents don't suffer from the 'safety net' system in England and Wales. It is proposed to transfer £625m to 79 inner city councils by charging higher Poll Tax in other, low spending areas. Backbenchers are worried that they may lose the support of their constituents if they are seen to 'subsidise' 'high spending' Labour councils.

The safety net will mainly be

contributed to by low spending councils but some Labour controlled inner city councils are also obliged to contribute to the pool. In order to reduce the safety net contribution in affluent Woking, Surrey by £17 per person, Haringey Council, London, will have to pay £15 per person into the pool. Manchester, Salford, Knowsley and Newcastle will also contribute.

Nicholas Ridley's Poll Tax figures for England released on 20 July have been exposed as gross underestimates. For example, to meet Ridley's estimated £242 Poll Tax per head in Nottingham in 1990-1991, Notts County Council would have to impose £36m worth of cuts and sack 2,000 council workers. Ridley's figures were based on the £23.1 bn central government will give to English local authorities in 1990-1991.

The government estimates that councils should only spend

£32.8 bn in 1990-1991, leaving £9.7 bn to be raised from the Poll Tax in England – an average of £275 per person. However, just to keep current levels of spending in line with inflation council spending this year is likely to be around £2 bn more than the government's estimated total, making the amount to be raised from the Poll Tax 13.5% more than Ridley's estimate.

22 Poll Tax registration officers are to be questioned about their failure to register under the Data Protection Act. Officers who have no acceptable reason for failing to register may face prosecution and a possible fine. So far the questions on only 37 of the 403 Poll Tax registration forms used in England and Wales satisfied the protection of privacy laws. In 304 cases local authorities sought information which was excessive or unfairly obtained.

The government has announ-



# Racist police attack Notting Hill carnival

SUSAN DAVIDSON

Two sides of the argument about the Notting Hill Carnival are represented by Claire Holder of the Carnival Enterprise Committee and Frank Critchlow of the Mangrove Community Centre. But the uninvited guest at the Carnival debate is the Metropolitan police. By now it should be clear even to those who hope that Carnival can become part of the summer calendar of events like Wimbledon and Henley, that there is no way that this will be allowed. The racist British state cannot leave it alone.

Carnival has changed greatly over the years. Two thirds of the visitors are now white, many of them 'tourists' who take in Car-



Riot police attack the Carnival in All Saints Road.

nival as part of the London scene and subsidies from various bodies have amounted to as much as £300,000, all a far cry from the original Trinidad-style steel-

band and float festival of 30 years ago. But some things remain the same, especially the months of voluntary work creating the costumes. Above all it

still is a celebration of black culture.

The Enterprise Committee wants to capitalise on Carnival as a piece of hot property that can be made to raise a great deal of money. The profits are to be used to support further black enterprises. The Mangrove Centre represents the view that Carnival is the property of the people: 'participation not profit is the essence of Carnival' says Frank Critchlow.

The British state is not interested in either point of view. It remains entrenched in its hostility to black people organising in any way at all. Of course, Mr Ridout, Metropolitan Police Deputy Assistant Commissioner with overall responsibility for the Carnival, does not say this. He talks about the need for 'law and order', 'stewarding', 'cur-

few' and 'co-operation', but in reality he wants Carnival closed down.

This year the Met gave itself two tasks. It wanted to keep up the pressure to end Carnival. This was done by weeks of publicity about 'law and order' risks and by the policing costs; 5,000 police deployed at the expense of £1½m. The second task was to put to the test the latest riot-training tactics by targeting a small area of the crowd for attack and arrest.

On Bank Holiday Monday, Carnival ended with a violent assault by the police near All Saints Road. Uniformed police intervened in a localised argument. They provoked a response and were pelted with bottles. They quickly retreated from the scene to be replaced by the riot squad. A small team of mounted

police and 28 groups of 20 officers in full riot gear, directed by senior officers through headphones built into their helmets, cleared everyone out of All Saints Road and the surrounding streets. Barriers had been erected and crowds were herded along a pre-planned route like cattle. Those who were slow or resisted were batoned and/or arrested, over 300 people in all. That the police were waiting to practise their manoeuvres was evident on the Sunday when comrades selling *FRFI* reported seeing a large group of police in paramilitary gear drilling in side streets.

The state is getting ready for the day to come when black people, like working class people elsewhere, have had enough of Thatcher's poverty and racism and start to protest against it. ■

# West Midlands crime squad disbanded

VIRMAN MAN

Mounting evidence of police corruption and violence and demands for an inquiry by two judges finally forced Geoffrey Dear, Chief Constable of West Midlands police, to disband the Serious Crimes Squad. 53 officers, including senior ranks, were moved to administrative duties pending a full internal inquiry.

Recent cases provide examples of the Squad's illegal activities. Paul Dandy was accused of shooting a guard during a robbery in Birmingham. At his trial in October 1987 forensic scientists proved that notes of his confession were not the originals.

Ronald Bolden spent 22 months in custody awaiting trial for armed robbery. In June this year

he was acquitted at Birmingham Crown Court after his lawyers showed that the police had falsified confessions. The judge said that the police story was 'manifest nonsense'.

In July Keith Parchment was cleared by the Court of Appeal of robbery after serving two years of a five-year sentence. Handwriting experts found irregularities in the notes of Parchment's confession.

Dear disbanded the Serious Crimes Squad on 14 August and called the Police Complaints Authority to conduct an investigation into the work of the Squad since 1984. Days earlier a new controversy had been raging. In the case of four people accused of assault the defence lawyers tried repeatedly for a year to get hold of a missing police file containing witness evidence.

On the second day of the trial Detective Sergeant Hornby miraculously produced the file, claiming that it had been unearthed from the bottom of a dusty drawer in a quiet suburban police station. Records show, however, that the file had been signed out in Hornby's name.

The criminal activity of the Serious Crimes Squad goes back much further than the remit of the inquiry announced by Dear. Detective Constable John Perkins took the confession of Patrick Malloy, one of four men convicted of the murder of Carl Bridgewater in 1979. Malloy maintained right up to his death in prison that the confession was made up. Stephen Jonas, a Birmingham solicitor whose clients have felt the sharp end of justice

meted out by the Squad, has experience of the tactics used: 'The officers have been able to rely on their reputation of violence to make threats of violence. They would then make threats to arrest spouses or put children into care'.

The public disgrace of the Serious Crimes Squad has strengthened demands to reopen the case of the Birmingham Six. At least three of the 53 suspect officers were directly involved in convicting them. Detective Inspector Peter Higgins and the notorious Hornby interrogated Hugh Callaghan. Detective Chief Inspector Ray Bennett beat a confession out of Paddy Hill.

Chris Mullin MP told *FRFI*: 'This is only the tip of a very large iceberg and it leads us back, remorselessly, to the pub

**'If the six men win, it will mean that the police were guilty of perjury, that they were guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and were improperly admitted in evidence and that the convictions were erroneous... This is such an appalling vista that every sensible person in the land would say: it cannot be right these actions should go any further.'**

Lord Denning denying the Birmingham Six the right to appeal against conviction

bombings... the integrity of the squad was a major issue at the pub bombings trial. There is no way that we can avoid reopening the case'.

In contrast, Labour's deputy leader Roy Hattersley's immediate response was against an independent inquiry: 'I have complete faith that, having come to light, the Chief Constable and the police authorities will investigate them [serious questions] thoroughly'. To investigate is one matter; to come up with results is quite another. The man in charge of the inquiry is West Yorkshire's Assistant Chief Constable Donald Shaw - who worked with Colin Sampson on the RUC shoot-to-kill inquiry after John Stalker was removed. The results of that inquiry were inconclusive. ■

# ...Another crime squad disbanded

CAROL BRICKLEY

It was against a background of flagging popularity, declining opinion poll ratings, a disastrous European election result, and, worst of all, the economy once again crisis-ridden, that 'Godmother' Thatcher, head of the Cabinet Serious Crime Squad (formed to commit serious crime, that is) decided to move some officers to other administrative duties and even to give some ministers the push on 25 July. This Cabinet's most serious failure had been their inability to convince the public that daylight robbery is acceptable.

Two no-hopers, Paul Channon (Transport) and John Moore (Social Security) were expelled from the Gang for incompetence. Channon is remembered for overseeing a long series of transport disasters and for leaving the scene of the Lockerbie disaster for a long holiday in the Caribbean. Moore is best remembered for his crude attempts to convince the old that they are well-off and the poor that they do not exist.

Two other gangsters, Lord

Young (Trade & Industry) and George Younger (Defence), quit the Cabinet in favour of committing crime elsewhere: Younger moves to head the Royal Bank of Scotland; Lord Young is returning to the business underworld following his handling of the Barlow Clowes collapse which parted many a shareholder from his capital. Mistress of gross Turpitude (MT) Thatcher wrote to Young after his resignation: 'During your six years at the Scottish Office you were responsible for implementing the Government's policies which have brought unprecedented prosperity to Scotland'. This was a typing error: it should have read 'prosperity from Scotland'.

Sideways moves came for Nicholas Ridley, Cecil Parkinson, Tom King, Kenneth Baker, John McGregor, and Peter Brooke, reflecting the MT's general dissatisfaction with gang performance.

Ridley (moved from Environment to Trade & Industry) had spectacularly failed to convince most people about the benefits of the poll tax and anyone about water privatisation. Best suited to Robbery with Violence, he was considered an inappropriate

spokesperson for the new 'greener' environment policies like convincing the public that pollution is not a problem. His successor Chris 'Ozone Friendly' Patten's main qualifications are that he is young, blond and considered handsome - this is intended to take our minds off the pollution, poll tax, greenhouse effect, etc.

Tom King moves from Secretary of State for Northern Ireland to Defence. This is considered to be something of a reprieve as King is the longest serving Minister at the N Ireland office since 1972 and the post calls for a wide range of skills: murder, torture, robbery, extortion, lying, etc. His move to Defence will not be without problems even for a man with such talents, since a Defence Review is imminent (the last one unhappily coincided with the Falklands War) and Trident does not work.

Peter Brooke has confirmed his earlier prediction about himself: 'I have no plans for a political career', by moving from Conservative Central Office (where he carried out the MT's strict instructions about the European election campaign and then carried the can) to the

N Ireland Office. Already christened 'Babbling Brooke' by *Republican News*, Brooke comes from a long line of robber barons. He is related to Sir Basil Brooke (Lord Brookeborough) who was premier of the Stormont parliament, helped to form the B-Specials and 'would never have a Catholic around the place'.

Kenneth Baker has escaped the consequences of his national curriculum, teacher shortages and low morale in Education by moving to head Conservative Central Office. He may well be heading for problems. Knives between the shoulder blades are a commonplace.

Most of the others moved because they are dull and boring. Two, however, are well known for their sexual exploits. Cecil 'The Brylcreem' Parkinson, only recently restored to favour following his adultery and breach of promise, has now moved to Transport. Norman 'Black-Eye' Lamont moves in as Chief Secretary to the Treasury. His reputation is coloured by the black eye he received in an argument 'over a woman' and his reputation as a 'high liver' was confirmed by his absence when

his promotion was announced. He had gone to a dance in France! A third promotee (to the Min of Ag and Fish), John Selwyn Gummer, is an unlikely partner in crime for these two. He is said to be against all sex, but his qualifications as 'An inconsequential little creep' (first recognised by Edward du Cann) are beyond question.

There was one aspect of the reshuffle which at times reminded us of the good old days of rivalry and unbridled gang warfare. It was predicted in advance that the MT's top sidekicks - The Big Three, Lawson (Exchequer), Hurd (Home Secretary) and Howe (Foreign Office), would survive untouched. Lawson, however, was chief suspect in a planned link-up with the European bank robbery syndicate (robbing for banks, that is) the EMS, threatening to undermine Thatcher's leadership. Howe was his main accomplice. Only spectacular double-dealing by the MT preserved the gang's independence at the Madrid Summit.

The Godmother does not forget. Lawson was too big to move, so Howe got the chop instead, moving to what Downing Street

Press Pimp Bernard Ingham described as 'the non-existent post' of Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of the Commons (a now defunct and powerless sub-committee of the Gang). Hurd was somewhat miffed because Howe was offered his job at the Home Office first, but the main squabble was over the swag (*isn't it always*). Howe lost his priceless country house Chevening in the move and wasn't prepared to go without a replacement or without assurances that he will actually exist. There is, of course, one law for the rich, and another for the poor (*see John Moore*). Howe was reassured that he exists and promised that he can chair the Cabinet in the MT's absence (She is never absent). Likewise, a replacement country house, Dorneywood, was found by wrenching it from Lawson's clutches.

My Fellow Crime Stoppers should now watch out for John Major who muscled out Howe to become Foreign Secretary. He is the MT's man, now in place for a spectacular succession coup. This won't go down well with The Big Three, and as a close advisor to Thatcher said: 'If things don't improve we may be in for a rough time'. How very true. ■



# Indian army kills civilians

TREVOR RAYNE

The blanket of silence with which the Indian Army covers its operations against the Tamil people has been torn aside. On 15 August *Financial Times* journalist David Housego visited Velvettiturai on the Jaffa peninsula. He confirmed reports that on 2 August Indian troops had massacred 52 people and burned down 120 houses.

We were given a picture of Indian troops running berserk in revenge for a Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam ambush that claimed six Indian soldiers' lives. The reality is that terrorism against civilians is a systematic tactic designed to break support for the LTTE. This is confirmed by a remarkable BBC World Service broadcast on 27 August wherein local people confirmed seeing senior Indian Army officers direct the massacre. On 28 August in the village of Alampil, near Vavunia, Indian troops repeated the terror tactic, destroying 22 houses and cold-bloodedly killing four civilians.

India is stalling its troop withdrawal. It is proposing a 'peace council' for the Tamil provinces. This body would combine different Tamil groups with the EPRLF which India has installed as its provincial council front. The LTTE will have nothing to do with this ploy to form an artificial alliance intended as a counterweight to its power in the Tamil communit-

ies. On 17 August Amnesty International issued a statement reporting that Indian troops and the EPRLF have been forcibly recruiting Tamil youths. Relatives of youths who have escaped have been intimidated and killed.

In the south the slaughter has escalated to well over 800 people killed during August. Unable to contain the JVP campaign, and losing political ground with its inability to budge India, the Sri Lankan government has stepped up its death squad activities. In a recent message to the Tamil people the JVP stated: 'The LTTE must relinquish separatism and join with the progressive patriotic forces led by the JVP to defeat Indian imperialism and their local agents and fascism'. The JVP does not recognise the right of the Tamil people to nationhood. 20,000 Tamils died at the hands of the Sri Lankan Army and Sinhalese chauvinism between 1948 and 1987. A further 5000 Tamils have been killed by Indian soldiers attempting to deny the Tamil people their right to self-determination. British imperialism stood behind the Sri Lankan Army and now the Indian Army in their war against Tamil Eelam. The first step for the Sinhalese working class and peasantry out of the dire social crisis into which they have been plunged is to support the Tamil struggle. Only in this way can the fatal hold of Sinhalese chauvinism be broken and the bourgeoisie unmasked. ■

# Fight for abortion rights in the US

AURIEL FERMO

Every year in the US 1.5 million women choose to have abortions. Since 1973 after the Roe v Wade court ruling, abortion was made legal in the US, although, as in this country, abortion on demand has never been a reality for working class women. During the Reagan administration, anti-abortionists thrived and on 3 July this year the Supreme Court, a reactionary body of Reagan/Bush cohorts, ruled that abortions will no longer be available to women who use publicly funded clinics and they have given individual states the power to control/prevent women's right to abortion.

Working class women, particularly black and the poorest women, who in the past have struggled financially to get abortions, will now have no chance. Though non-white women make up 17% of the female population, they have 32% of abortions. Women whose incomes are on or below the official poverty line (\$11,000 a year) account for over one third of all abortions. Of one million teenagers who get pregnant each year, 42% decide to have an abortion. 15-17 years olds account for 11% of these.

Next Autumn the Supreme Court will take the attack further



Pro-abortion demonstrator

by considering that these young women will have to inform both parents, even a divorced parent or incestuous father who may also be the father of the foetus, of the pregnancy and decision to have an abortion.

The National Organisation of Women (NOW) and other pro-abortion campaigns have begun organising a fightback against this latest attack. Molly Yard of NOW said after the ruling, 'We cannot trust the court, we cannot trust the Congress or the state legislatures, we will take this fight to the people'. Plans to 'jam mailboxes with leaflets and establish information stalls on street corners' are underway to spread the pro-choice argument. This resistance, and drawing in the widest support particularly from working class and black communities, is what will win back a stolen right. ■

EDDIE ABRAHAMS

The latest phase of Lebanon's 14 year old civil war was precipitated in March this year, when Phalangist General Aoun declared his 'war of liberation' against Syria. Since then over 750 have died and thousands more have been wounded. Beirut, the Lebanese capital, has been devastated. Its population, which stood at over a million, has been reduced to 200,000 as hundreds of thousands flee the deadly heavy artillery duels between the Phalangist forces and those of Syria and its allies.

President Assad's Syrian regime is suffering a severe economic crisis, it has been deprived of previously generous Saudi Arabian aid and is increasingly isolated in the region. Exploiting Assad's declining fortunes, General Aoun, with the acquiescence of his imperialist, Zionist and Iraqi backers, launched his 'war of liberation' to force Syria to withdraw its 40,000 troops from Lebanon.

Aoun's war has a dual purpose. On the one hand it is designed to defeat and destroy Lebanon's democratic, progressive and Muslim forces and thus reassert the minority Christian Phalangist hegemony over the sectarian state. On the other, by defeating and humiliating the Assad regime it would complete its isolation and remove it as a major force in Middle Eastern politics. The imperialists and Zionists would then with greater confidence turn to the task of imposing their will both on Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole.



Sheik Obeid

Phalangist plans have, however, gone awry. After six months, Aoun's only achievement has been to destroy Beirut. French imperialism fearing Aoun's collapse, and acting as international reaction's vanguard in Lebanon, felt it necessary to despatch a fleet of warships to show solidarity with the Phalangist forces. Meanwhile at the beginning of August, 18 org-

anisations opposed to Aoun representing almost every political trend in the left-wing, democratic and in the Muslim camp formed a united front to fight Aoun.

There is unfortunately little sign at the moment that this united front will emerge as a formidable democratic and secular force led by the left. Despite today's temporary alliance, over

the years, the Assad regime never hesitated to deploy its military might against the left and democratic forces. As a result, the once mighty and proud revolutionary democratic mass movement in Lebanon has been severely undermined. In its place we have witnessed the rise of reactionary Muslim fundamentalism as well as plain banditry and gangsterism.

At present a savage stalemate prevails with each party to the war calculating its next step.

It was amidst this devastating war that on 28 July Israeli state terrorist forces raided south Lebanon and kidnapped Sheikh Abdel Karim Obeid. This outrageous act of international terrorism was greeted with only the mildest criticism. However when, within days, William Higgins a US hostage held by Shi'ite militants was hanged in revenge, imperialist war-mongering and condemnation knew no bounds.

The ostensible motive of the Israeli kidnapping was the Zionist hope to exchange Obeid and other prisoners for three Israeli soldiers and all imperialist hostages being held in Lebanon. After all the headlines, threats, pleas and backroom negotiations, nothing has developed on this front.

However for the Zionists the kidnapping proved a useful exercise in diverting attention away from the uprising in Palestine. While world attention was focussed on the question of Obeid, Higgins and the hostages, the Zionist authorities went on killing unarmed Palestinians with impunity and announced new regulations doubling the time Palestinians can be held without trial from 6 to 12 months. ■

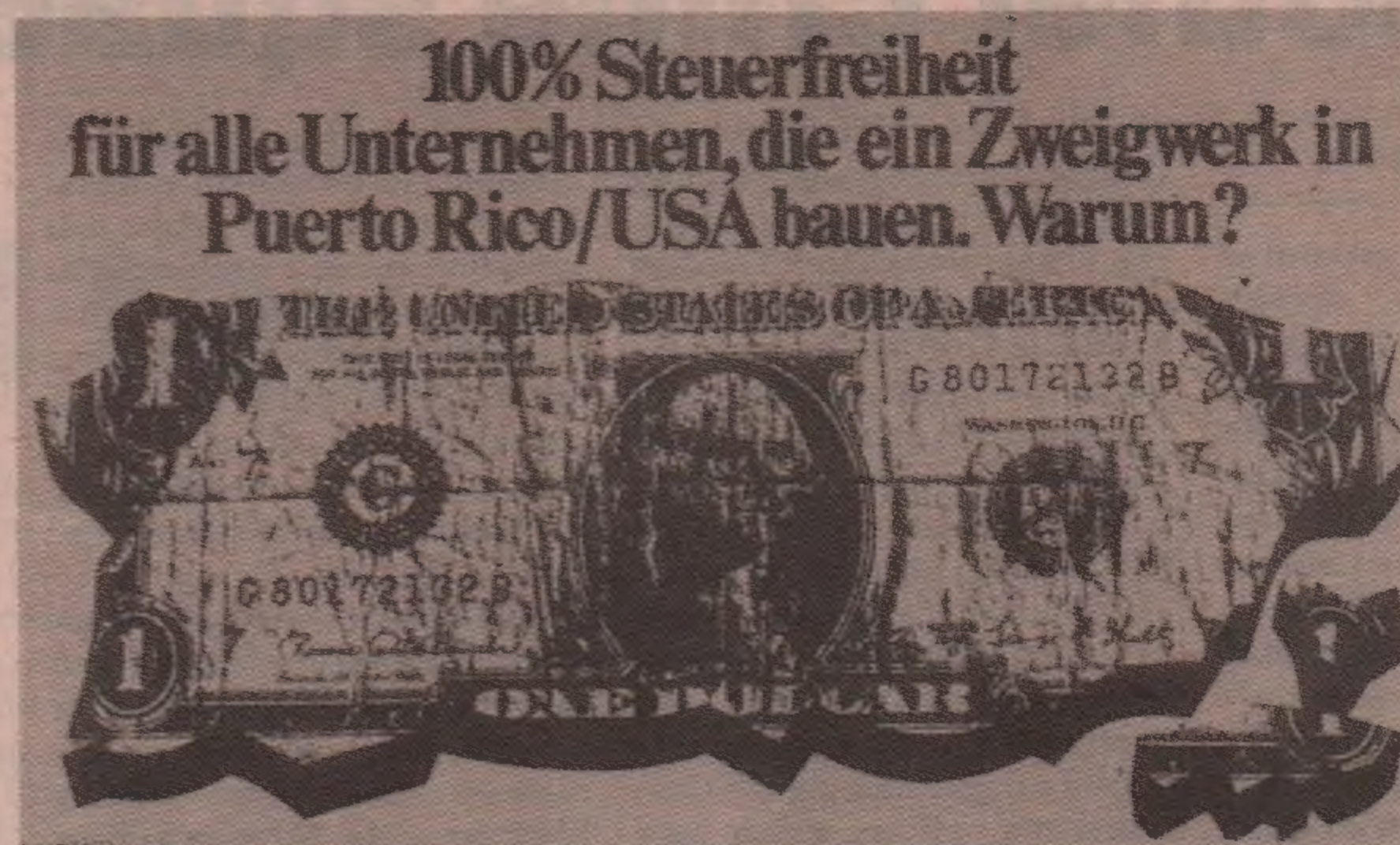
# Puerto Rico struggles for freedom

GARY ROSE

The US are orchestrating a plebiscite in Puerto Rico to 'ask' the people whether they wish their country to become the US's 51st state. At the same time the pro-independence movement is growing - in June a coalition of pro-independence forces mobilised 100,000 Puerto Ricans in a march for self-determination. The US media totally censored this show of strength and while the islanders are 'deciding' their fate, the army is increasing its profile and its brutality.

The plebiscite is a mask for further exploitation and oppression of the islanders. The US has no intention of granting freedom to the people for a number of reasons. Most importantly is that Puerto Rico is an army installation with aggressive intent towards neighbouring Cuba and Panama.

The US invaded Puerto Rico in 1898. In 1953, as colonies were beginning to gain their independence throughout the world, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs proudly declared that now 'Puerto Rico has independence in everything except economics,



Plenty of dollars for German capitalists in tax-free Puerto Rico - ad in a German magazine

defence and foreign relations'. Ever since then the US has tried to obscure the reality of life for the vast majority of Puerto Ricans under imperialism.

Almost 40% of the people are unemployed, while 90% of the people rely on federally subsidised food coupons. Over two million Puerto Ricans have migrated to the US in search of better opportunities, only to encounter racism, police brutality and bad housing, education and health care.

Three million Puerto Ricans constitute approximately 80 per cent of the human beings who still live under direct colonial

rule. Of these people 100,000 are on active files kept by the FBI and CIA for supporting the independence movement. During the past year persecution by the US government has increased against those who fight for the human and civil rights of the great majority of the people.

Four Puerto Rican independence fighters have recently been found guilty, in an American court, of robbing a Wells Fargo armoured truck in 1983. The trial began in October 1988, although those tried were kidnapped by the FBI in Puerto Rico in 1985. One defendant, Segarra Palmer has been sentenced to

65 years in prison and fined \$500,000. The case was a 'string of lies' and a farce. It was an attempt at presenting the Puerto Rican patriots as common criminals. Two witnesses for the prosecution were challenged by the defendants - one because he had been paid \$29,000 for his testimony and the other because he was prompted by revenge and knew very little about the case. The judge at the trial behaved like a prosecutor and was particularly hostile to Segarra Palmer, who had admitted that he was a member of the liberation movement, Los Macheteros. ■



# Masses defy apartheid

CAT WIENER

Time is running out for apartheid. Over the last months the black masses have been mobilising on a scale not seen since the uprisings which rocked South Africa in 1984-85; it is becoming clear to the racists that even the most savage repression under sweeping Emergency powers cannot hold the lid down for much longer. And so the imperialists are stepping up the pressure throughout southern Africa to force through their new strategy for a political and economic stability in the region which would guarantee their interests. The pressure is therefore on both the apartheid regime and the liberation movements to move towards a Namibia-style settlement: the imperialists are racing to head off the movement before it explodes.

PW Botha's resignation as National Party leader and more recently as State President were regarded by imperialism as the necessary precursor to reform. De Klerk, now acting State President until the 6 September white-only election, is able to masquerade as a reformist in sharp contrast to the reputation

of his predecessor. The contrast, however, is only sharp in the regime's propaganda. In reality the State of Emergency, banings and repression continue unabated, as does the commitment to white minority rule.

While de Klerk is certainly under pressure from imperialism, that pressure is limited. It requires of him only that apartheid should present a more acceptable face to the world, with a form of 'democracy' that will not hand power over to the black majority. De Klerk's first task is, of course, decisively to win the 6 September election. But with the economy in grave crisis, and payment of South Africa's foreign debt now falling due, he knows he will have to make concessions to his imperialist financiers. A section of white South Africa will welcome the possibility of an end to their economic and political isolation, in particular the business community; but de Klerk also needs to win back those who have drifted towards the far-right Conservative Party by cracking down on protest, refusing to release political prisoners and proving that he is not 'soft on blacks'.

The pressure facing the liberation movement is of a quite different order. The imperialists are trying to force them to accept less than majority rule as a basis

for negotiations. This pressure, mediated through the OAU and the Frontline states, is increased by the very real threat that if the liberation movements do not make these concessions then the imperialists will go ahead anyway and impose a settlement over their heads - as happened, with disastrous results, in Namibia. The PAC continues to rule out negotiations with the racists, while the ANC remains deeply divided on the issue. Some sections have always said that they would be prepared to negotiate under certain conditions, while others, notably the armed wing, have argued for an escalation of the armed struggle.

It is in this context that the ANC's proposals at the OAU should be seen: on the one hand, the ANC has made it clear to the imperialists that they are not closing the door on negotiations; on the other, they have confronted the apartheid regime with a set of demands - the freeing of political prisoners, the unbanning of liberation organisations and anti-apartheid groups and the lifting of the State of Emergency - which they know the racists cannot possibly concede. The ANC has thus temporarily staved off the pressure, while the debate within its own ranks can be resolved.

Ultimately, however, the

force that will determine whether the imperialists are able to impose their strategy on South Africa is the black working class. They have no interest in the outcome of elections from which they are excluded, or negotiations which guarantee them anything less than their birthright - majority rule. It is they who have launched the current campaign which strikes at the very roots of apartheid.

It started first with demands for equal health care and an end to the segregation of hospitals, challenging the inequality on which apartheid is founded. Protests spread to schools, university campuses, leisure facilities and transport. In the Cape, the most militant protest has spread from the schools to take in the wider community's grievances about rents and housing; in spite of bans, rallies, protests and meetings continue, and the police are met with burning barricades and a barrage of stones. Banned organisations declared themselves legal, and 'restricted persons' spoke out in defiance of government bans.

The start of the campaign saw different political trends uniting against the common oppressor, along with trade unions, human rights and church groups. As the protest has swelled, the repression has been stepped up, ex-

posing de Klerk's 'reforms' for the sham they are. Faced with the potential resistance of 30 million people, de Klerk can no longer afford to masquerade: white South Africa's very survival is at risk. And so the protestors have been met with whips, police dogs, rubber bullets, CS gas and mass arrests.

On 30 August 200 women, including Mrs Tutu, demonstrating against the detention of children and the death penalty, were arrested. The next day, COSATU's offices were raided and 11 trade unionists arrested. 19 organisers were arrested and accused of being ANC guerrillas, a student demonstration was tear-gassed and a journalists' demonstration arrested. In Soweto, 102 people have been arrested and three shot by police.

And yet the movement continues to grow. COSATU and NACTU have urged workers to support the campaign, and industrial action, including sit-ins, demonstrations and overtime bans, has been organised. A month-long consumer boycott is due to start on 13 September. Each day the police arrest demonstrators, only to find another demonstration the next day. Repression brings only renewed resistance: this time, the racists may well find that their time has finally run out. ■

## Ceasefire in Angola ends

On 25 August, the bandit UNITA movement called off the ceasefire agreed with the democratically-elected Angolan government on 22 June.

The ceasefire, an attempt by the Angolan government to bring a measure of peace to its war-torn country, has been continuously breached by the bandits, who are equipped and supported by the US and South Africa. UNITA has been responsible for attacks in the Benguela region to cut off supply lines to government troops in the south and the mining of roads. Its shooting down of a MiG-23 aircraft in August paved the way for its declaration of a return to open conflict: this merely formalises the reality. ■

## UN stop South African gerrymander in Namibia

At the end of August the UN announced plans to re-write the South African draft rules governing the Namibian election, due on 11 November. The South Africans have already massacred SWAPO guerrillas, refused to include Windhoek Bay in the elections, killed SWAPO organisers and terrorised the population with ex-Koevoet murderers now dressed up as police. Fearing that this might not be enough to prevent SWAPO from getting the two-thirds majority needed to win control, the South Africans have written rules for the election which would place control in their hands and allow them to ensure that their DTA stooges get elected.

The UN's decision rules out the South African demand for centralised counting and a month's delay in announcing the results (manufacturing the results?). Instead counting will take place at the polling stations in the presence of UNTAG and polling agents, with the results announced immediately. The UN will also insist on a secret ballot, and illiterate voters will be helped by UNTAG officials or the presiding officer with an UNTAG representative - South Africa had proposed its own oh-so-neutral officers. Finally, the UN will limit the possibility for fraud by South Africa and its agents by insisting that voters vote where they register. ■

## Booming trade with apartheid

British trade with apartheid is booming. UK exports to South Africa grew by 12 per cent in 1987 and 13.3 per cent in 1988 to just over £1bn. UK imports from South Africa showed a 23 per cent increase in 1988 to £808 million. British companies still own subsidiaries amongst the largest and most strategically important in South Africa. ConsGold is notorious for paying the lowest wages to black miners - with wages as little as 53 per cent of the average wage. A recent Labour Research Department report names British companies with large stakes in apartheid: Allied Lyons, Beecham, Bluecircle, BP, Cadbury Schweppes, GEC, Great Universal Stores, Guinness, BTR, ICI, Lonrho.

■ Two men, Ross Galbraith and Gary Sheriff, have been sacked by Granby Plastics, Leicester, for refusing to do work for South Africa. The order, thought to be worth £50,000, is for a high technology metal substitute. The company hopes to win further orders. Ross and Gary have launched a campaign for their reinstatement and have called on workers throughout Britain to boycott trade with apartheid. 'Even if we go back we will still not work on the order for South Africa. It's a brutal racist regime'. More details from Ross Galbraith (0533 367264).

# Filthy 14 batting for apartheid

CAROL BRICKLEY &amp; MIKE WEBBER

At Lords on 13 August as Middlesex and former England captain Mike Gatting walked to the crease to begin his innings he was met with a pitch invasion only this time those involved weren't celebrating a batsman hitting a hundred, they were City of London Anti-Apartheid Group supporters protesting at Gatting's participation in a forthcoming tour of racist South Africa.

When English cricket fans woke on 1 August, they soon discovered another headache besides the impending loss of the Ashes to Australia. The newspapers carried reports that 16 English Test cricketers would be taking part in a tour of South Africa over the next two winters. Said to be more 'representative' than previous tours, this Sordid 16 certainly represent greed. The extent of the funds Pretoria lavished on them is not known, but certainly goes into millions of pounds.

## INTO THE CESSPIT - THE FILTHY 14 EXPLAIN THEMSELVES

Since the first announcement the Sordid 16 have become the Filthy 14 with the black players, Roland Butler and Phil de Freitas pulling out under pressure from fellow black athletes. The remaining 14 are unrepentant. Some of the Filthy Fourteen have gone on record to defend their acceptance of Pretoria blood-money in terms as diverse as they are revolting.

Mike Gatting originally said he knew very little about apartheid, but within a week was saying the tour would help end it.



City AA protestors invade pitch at Lords. Inset Gatting.

Two weeks before the mercenary tour was announced, Gatting said he could not tour with England for the sake of his wife. How much money changed his mind is not clear, but it is said that he recently pocketed £205,000 tax free from benefit matches, so he obviously has expensive habits. Gatting is, of course, renowned for his abuse of a Pakistani umpire on the 1987 Winter tour.

John Emburey's rhetoric is less ambitious - interviewed in the 6 August *Sunday Mirror*, he said that although he'd had to sell his wife's car to keep up with the mortgage payments; no, he wasn't in it for the money, but to improve English cricket! It will certainly be improved by his absence.

Another of the fourteen is Graham Dilley, whose autobiography, *Swings and roundabouts*, was published before the announcement of the current

tour but contains a defence of his participation in a previous one. Dilley says for the record that he's totally opposed to oppression of one racial group by another, but if supremacy was scrapped overnight (after all, its trial period has barely lasted 300 years), black people would start killing each other.

Fidel Castro once said political consciousness was a thousand times more important than money. His words are borne out by the principled position on apartheid taken in the West Indies, where the people's knowledge of oppression derives from centuries on the receiving end of it. Although the material conditions facing West Indies cricketers are far worse than those of their English counterparts, nevertheless in the early 1980s any West Indians who played in South Africa were banned from life from playing again.

The Filthy 14 are a negative

confirmation of Castro's words. Pretoria's millions have bought, as of the time of the announcement, three current Test players - a few more in the fringes of the Test side and several, maybe a majority, who would never have played for England again. Unlike the West Indies, the mercenaries will only be banned from Test cricket. The squad is 'representative' all right. Representative of the greed and selfishness of capitalist society.

It is now clearer than ever that the apartheid regime is using both cricket and rugby mercenary tours to bolster the illusion of reform and breach the boycott. Ali Bacher and Danie Craven both argue that they are introducing multi-racial sport, but the reality is that they are selling the regime exactly what it wants - 'rebel' tours. There can be no normal sport in South Africa until apartheid is smashed. Black people defying apartheid laws at this moment know that. The cricket mercenaries must be stopped. ■

■ City of London Anti-Apartheid Group began its campaign against the tourists on 6 August at the Oval. Since then county matches on 13, 20 & 27 August, at Lords, Folkestone and Canterbury have been disrupted by pitch invasions against the mercenaries. On 2 September at the Nat-West trophy final at Lords Cannon Row police were drafted in to identify City AA supporters who had tickets for the match. Two AAM members were able to invade the pitch. City AA demonstrators outside the ground were arrested when they blocked the gate. Daniel, who was eventually released without charge had his finger broken by a

police officer. Francis was charged with highway obstruction. Three angry demonstrators were arrested outside Paddington Green police station. City AA plans to continue its campaign against the mercenaries. For more information phone City AA 01-837 6050

## Met Inspector goes 'hairless'

Police at Paddington Green station arrested eight people after a pitch invasion by 20 City AA members at Lords on Sunday 13 August. The eight were released late on Sunday evening and told to attend court on the following day to be bound over to keep the peace. Advised by their lawyers that under common law they were under no obligation to attend, the eight failed to appear.

Chief inspector Devine (late of Cannon Row) went 'hairless' and threatened their barrister that if it happened again they would not be released. So great was his ire that he went on to issue summonses and has since expended a great deal of time (at taxpayer's expense) in a relentless pursuit - sending a constable on a bike chasing round London looking for the eight. To no avail. The eight failed to answer their summonses in person, sending a barrister to deny the complaint and ask for a two-day trial. Mr Devine had assembled an array of Lords' stewards to give evidence on why the cricketers should get more peace than they deserve. Adjourning the case, the magistrate appeared to think that Mr Devine needed a bindover. She has given the CPS two weeks to decide if they want to pursue the matter. ■



# Plastic bullets murder

SIMON CLARKE

On 9 August 15 year old Seamus Duffy became the latest victim to be murdered by the RUC using plastic bullets. He was simply walking to a bonfire when the RUC drove past in a van and shot him. Even as his friends tried to aid the dying boy the RUC continued firing plastic bullets injuring two more people. The RUC followed Seamus's relatives to hospital and abused them and even pointed a plastic bullet gun at them inside the hospital where Seamus had been declared dead on arrival. This brings to 17 the number of people killed by plastic bullets, eight of them have been children. Hundreds more have been maimed.

Next month the UDR, notorious for its brutality and its links with loyalist paramilitary groups and sectarian killings, will also be armed with plastic bullets. The RUC already use these deadly weapons indiscriminately and at short range. What will the UDR do with them?

Since the introduction of plastic bullets 54,000 have been fired. Four inches long and one and a half inches in diameter



Plastic bullets were first used in the Six Counties and are now standard police equipment all over Britain

they travel at 150 mph. Supposed to be fired at long range and at the lower parts of the body they are in fact used at close quarters and prove fatal. This was seen only too well when John Downes was shot in the chest in front

of television and press in August 1984 and died on the spot.

The RUC/British army normally claim that those shot are rioters. They claimed this about Seamus Duffy, a claim denied by all the eye witnesses to the

event. In fact they are used to try to terrorise nationalist people off the streets and their use rises in periods of increased popular activity. Only four of those killed were judged at their inquests to have been rioters. The authorities have paid out over £1m in compensation for deaths and injuries. Injuries have included brain damage, paralysis, loss of eyes, skull fractures. Despite this no soldier or RUC officer has been convicted for the deaths of nationalists murdered by plastic bullets.

The victims and their families have now formed the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets (UCAPB), a broad based group demanding the banning of these weapons. Involved in it are Jim McCabe, whose wife Nora was killed in 1981, Archie Livingstone, father of 14 year old Julie, murdered in 1981, and the mother of Seamus Duffy. As Claire Reilly of UCAPB says: 'How can you compensate heartbroken families who have lost a child, a wife or a husband. In the case of Emma Groves how can you compensate the loss of both eyes?'

The RCG has produced a new petition calling for the banning of plastic bullets. Join us on the streets with this petition. ■

# British Terror

PAM ROBINSON

**The British Army has stepped up its oppressive action against the nationalist community with further systematic house raids using heavy digging equipment, pickaxes and hammers.**

**Tuesday 1 August** in Glenkeen. Jacqueline Monaghan, a single parent, had her kitchen floor ripped up with pickaxes by the Army. Pipes burst and there was flooding. After the raid a doctor had to be called to her.

**Thursday 3 August.** Three homes in Turf Lodge were systematically raided. Dominic and Christine Collins were held under room arrest for six hours while soldiers dug up floors, broke down walls and dug up their garden in a twelve hour raid.

**Monday 7 August.** The home of Paddy and Annie McGrath was subject to a six hour raid. They were left without heating. Pickaxes were used to smash interior walls and the fire place. After the raid Paddy suffered a heart attack.

**Tuesday 8 August.** Patrick McCormack, Rose Burns and their three young children were held under room arrest. The Army/RUC ripped up holy pictures and urinated on a child's bed.

Their neighbour was separated from her children and the children were encouraged to play with a loaded gun while raiders smashed their toys. Thomas McGuinness was out when the raiding party entered his home and smashed the hearth and furniture, urinated on the bed and stole food.

**Tuesday 8 August** at 11.30pm. Loyalist gunmen broke into the home of Catholic couple, Joe and Geraldine Haughey, and fired five shots at them, seriously injuring both.

**Saturday 19 August.** A British soldier shot Tyrone man Pat Kelly in the leg at a road block. There was no warning. Local people prevented the soldiers from taking Pat away buy helicopter and themselves rushed him to hospital. The soldier who shot him was back on duty less than 24 hours later.

**Sunday 20 August.** Seven year old Steven Gillian of Ballymurphy estate was hit in the face by a soldier whilst he was out playing. His eye was injured.

Dermot Coyle, who won a European Court case against being held under the PTA last November, was beaten unconscious and hospitalised after the army/RUC dragged him from a car. He is now receiving threatening mail and soldiers have been seen photographing his home. ■

# British collusion with loyalist death squads

MAXINE WILLIAMS

On 26 August Loughlin Maginn was shot dead at his home in Co Down. His murder was claimed by the loyalist murder squad the Ulster Freedom Fighters, cover name for the Ulster Defence Association. They alleged that Maginn was an IRA member, a claim strenuously denied by his family. This is the latest in a long series of sectarian murders by loyalist organisations. Normally they receive little or no publicity. However, this one has caused controversy and seriously embarrassed both the British government and the RUC.

The controversy arises because after the murder, the UDA told the BBC that they had been given documents by the security forces naming Maginn as an IRA man. The authorities have been forced to admit that the documents seen by the BBC were genuine, official and secret documents.

British government minister John Cope and the RUC feigned indignation and promised a 'rigorous investigation'. This is both hypocritical and misleading because it has been an open secret over the past twenty years that the British forces - Army, RUC and UDR - work hand in glove with loyalist organisations. In particular when it is not possible to frame or otherwise dispose of their nationalist opponents, British forces supply loyalist groups with the necessary information and assistance with which to assassinate people.



TOP: UDA paramilitaries publicly parading their strength in 1975  
BOTTOM: the Miami Showband

ple. British forces regard loyalist terror as a useful - and deniable - adjunct to official methods of repression. Both the assassination of targeted individuals and random sectarian murders are seen as methods of subduing nationalist resistance.

The links between the Ulster Defence Regiment and loyalist paramilitary organisations are particularly well-documented.

Many UDR men also serve in the UDA. One of the notorious Shankill butchers, who were responsible for 19 horrific murders in the 70s, was a serving UDR member. The Shankill butchers were allowed to engage in their activities for eighteen months despite the RUC having many clues to their identity. Two UDR officers took part in the killing of the Miami Show-

band in 1975, an operation which was set up by Captain Robert Nairac of the SAS. In 1976 a UDA spokesman said that 61 out of the 180 UDA men in Long Kesh were members or ex-members of the 'security forces'. By 1976 around 100 members of the UDR had been convicted of offences involving loyalist paramilitary activity. UDR weapons are frequently 'stolen' and later used in attacks and killings.

The passing of information, including many files on nationalists, from the RUC, UDR and army to the loyalists also has a long history. In 1975 an organisation called the Ulster Central Intelligence Agency consisting largely of RUC, UDR and UVF members was set up to co-ordinate this information. Such collusion has continued ever since. In 1989 a UDR member and a British soldier were convicted after passing information to the UVF.

Ken Livingstone in his forthcoming book quotes leading UDA member Albert 'Ginger' Baker (in jail for the sectarian killing of four Catholics) saying that former UDA chief Tommy Herron was directly controlled by an army intelligence officer in the 70's. He further states that the RUC drove weapons for the UDA; handed over files and photos of nationalists and gave weapons to the UDA.

The truth is that the British state and the loyalists share a common interest - the defeat of the national struggle to free Ireland. The British state is therefore more than happy to use loyalist terror as another weapon in its armoury. ■

# RUC attacks photographers

MAXINE WILLIAMS

**In its drive to prevent the truth about RUC brutality towards nationalists reaching the foreign press, the RUC and British government have begun to portray photographers as agents provocateurs. Apparently, according to the RUC and its slavish adherents in the British press, the nationalist youth only protest when there are cameras there to record their actions. The answer is obvious isn't it? Get rid of the press.**

This is what actually lies behind the harassment of foreign photographers during the anti-internment anniversary events. A German photographer Nick Vogel was arrested for allegedly having smoke bombs and other

illegal material in his possession. This has been well-publicised. *An Phoblacht/Republican News* as usual provides the facts the British papers failed to discover. Three foreign photographers filmed RUC assaults on nationalist youth. Whilst taking photographs one of them was assaulted and had his camera smashed by the RUC. Nick Vogel photographed the assault and had plastic bullets fired at him as he ran away.

The RUC then hunted Vogel down. He was later found by them and had his windscreen smashed as they dragged him away. A fellow photographer who phoned the RUC to check if Vogel was in custody received a response that made him fear for his own safety. He believes that the RUC will go to any lengths to get Vogel's film of their original assault. ■

# Boycott these rags

On the 20th anniversary of British troops going into Ireland both the *Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* managed their usual sleazy slant on things. Both had a picture of a naked woman surrounded by troops. But the *Mirror* won the sleaze stakes hands down: less than a week after the murder of Seamus Duffy by a plastic bullet, they had their naked woman holding a plastic bullet gun. So now murdering kids is sexy. No civilised country would tolerate the sale of this poison. Tell your newsagent you find these rags offensive, tell your friends to spread the word - drive this filth into the sewers. You never know, it might just kill off the rat population. ■

# In Memoriam

This month *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* remembers IRA volunteer Ray MacLochlainn who died on Monday 9 September 1985. Ray spent ten years in British jails from 1974-1984. Throughout his life, inside and outside prison, he fought as a Republican, a communist, an internationalist. He will always be remembered.

Jim Reilly, Luton Sinn Fein and Home Counties Organiser for Sinn Fein (Britain) devoted his life fighting as a revolutionary Republican to free Ireland from British rule. He died on Friday 26 September 1980. *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* salutes his dedication and courage.



# Who framed Colin Wallace?

Not much has been heard of Paul Foot's book *Who Framed Colin Wallace* since it was rushed out by its publishers to beat the introduction of the new Official Secrets Act. Under the new Act the story of Colin Wallace, also the story of the grey world of British undercover operations in the Six Counties of Ireland, could not have been told. As it is the book has been given the silent treatment. A few reviews, a little publicity. Nothing to disturb the British government or its security services. MAXINE WILLIAMS examines the story.

Foot's book is an exposure of the British state's secret operations to destroy the reputations or the lives of its citizens, of its large and murderous secret apparatus set up to run in parallel with its overt military presence in Ireland. Wallace, at first was a leading participant in this apparatus was then framed for manslaughter and became one of its victims. Some may find it shocking. Those familiar with Britain's war in Ireland will merely find it fascinating confirmation of what they already believed. But the vast majority of the British public will never even know the story. This is the true hallmark of tyranny masquerading as democracy. The full facts are available on the bookshelves and still the British public remains in blissful ignorance - ignorance partly thrust upon it but

it is from these rare messengers from within the system - Stalker was also one - that we can learn a great deal about the enemy we face.

Wallace, a loyalist, was recruited in 1968 to the British Army Public Relations Office in the Six Counties. He showed remarkable talent and by the age of 29 was Senior Information Officer, civilian equivalent to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He worked with Information Policy, a psychological warfare unit whose task was to feed propaganda to the press and other dirty tricks. He was for instance, involved in the Four Square Laundry, a fake laundry set up by the British army for surveillance purposes which picked up clothes and then tested them for explosives. (Their cover was blown quite literally when the IRA bombed their



Colin Wallace

ion on loyalist and republican leaders which might discredit them. However, very soon the targets widened to include an amazing range of politicians, Labour, Tory and Liberal whom MI5 regarded as unreliable. Particular efforts were made to smear Harold Wilson and his Labour government colleagues - Wilson was alleged to be a KGB agent. Many other then Labour politicians were said to be sympathetic to communism - such well known 'left-wingers' as David Owen, Reg Prentice, Roy Hattersley. The Ted Heath leadership of the Conservative Party was also targeted - Heath was said to be a KGB agent as well as susceptible to blackmail because of alleged homosexuality. Liberal leader Jeremy Thorpe was also smeared. Persistent rumours about targeted individuals surfaced amongst journalists and other 'opinion formers'. Major parts of this plot have subsequently been confirmed by Peter Wright's *Spycatcher*. It is well worth noting that despite the fantastic nature of the allegations, both Wilson and Heath had left the scene as leaders by 1976 and Liberal leader Jeremy Thorpe was subsequently ruined. Heath was replaced by Margaret Thatcher whose closest adviser, the late Airey Neave, was not only closely associated with the intelligence services but himself used some of Wallace's Clockwork Orange material in anti-Labour speeches.

Meanwhile, Ireland remained Wallace's central sphere of activity. MI5 were worried that a Labour government might not be fully committed to ruling Ireland. Wallace and his friends took action. Wary that Labour might release all internees they peddled false reports in the press that a large proportion of released internees were involved in military struggle. This had the desired effect of putting the Labour government on the defensive.

The Sunningdale power sharing executive had been met with fury by the loyalists. A loyalist general strike ensued. But two days before the strike Harold Wilson was given material by the security services which claimed to show that the IRA intended to use indiscriminate violence to bring about a chaotic situation which would enable them to take over areas of Belfast. In fact the plan, known in the press as the Dooresday Plot, was an old IRA plan on what could be done should a Protestant uprising require the evacuation of the nationalist population. However, Wilson and the press took the bait and the very day before loyalists mounted their major challenge to power sharing, the press was full of attacks on the IRA. The Wilson government, aware

that neither the army nor the secret services were willing to challenge the loyalist strike, caved in and the power sharing executive died. Evidence has since emerged that MI5 were intimately involved in the planning of the strike.

In 1974 Wallace started to become uneasy about the tasks which he was being asked to carry out. By then he had even been asked to draw up likely reactions to the assassination of Ian Paisley. He had also found out that the explosives used to kill 19 people in Dublin during the loyalist workers strike may have been supplied by British intelligence and that some of the assassinations carried out by loyalist groups may have been inspired by British intelligence. He saw his MI5 contact and told him that unless he received proof that Clockwork Orange had ministerial approval, he wanted out. This was his first step along the road to personal disaster.

His second concerned the Kincora Boys Home in Belfast. This children's home was as close to hell on earth as it is possible to imagine. The boys there were not only systematically raped and assaulted by the staff but supplied to others. Complaints about Kincora had been going on for years. Neither the RUC nor Belfast Social Services (nor such leading Protestant politicians as Ian Paisley) would ever listen and no action was taken. One of the housefathers and chief rapists at the home was William McGrath who had established a secretive loyalist organisation called TARA and had strong links with other loyalist figures and the Orange Order. Wallace received conflicting instructions about McGrath - Army intelligence told him to blow the whole story to the press, MI5 told him to keep it secret. In fact Wallace sent material about McGrath and Kincora to the British press - none of them would touch it. Wallace suspected that TARA was being run by the intelligence services and being used to upset the unity of the loyalist camp and to gain material for blackmail. Two generations of boys had been sacrificed to this end. He wrote a memo to his superiors saying that they should press the RUC to investigate the Kincora allegations and gain authorisation to blow the story to the press. Within six weeks of writing this Wallace's career was effectively finished.



William McGrath

In December 1974 he was invited to the Ministry of Defence in London and told that his life was in danger and that he was being moved out of the Six Counties. By May 1975 he had been sacked for passing on a document to a journalist. (He was, after appeal, allowed to 'resign'). The document was one of many such documents and briefings (ironically it was a piece of his usual misinformation) that Wallace had passed to the press over the years. As Stalker found out, when the powers want to get somebody any pretext will do.

After his sacking Wallace suffered a series of mysterious forms of harassment. However, in 1980 he supplied information about Clockwork Orange to a journalist. He was in a position to seriously endanger those areas of the intelligence services which had plotted against an elected government,

and additionally to show that a boy home had been turned into a brothel for the purposes of intelligence. Just as ruthlessly as they had sacked him they then framed him for a killing. Foot supplies enough detail to show just how dubious was Wallace's conviction for manslaughter. Wallace finished his sentence and was released in 1986. He has continued to insist on his innocence and to tell of his experiences in Ireland. The Ministry of Defence and British government have throughout denied that Wallace was ever employed in Information Policy - they can scarcely admit that such a dirty tricks squad existed. Moreover, as Foot shows beyond doubt, Wallace has been and still suffers from persistent smears and rumours, some of them enthusiastically peddled.

The Kincora scandal, or parts of it, were revealed in the press and the pressure finally forced the charging of McGrath and his associate. McGrath got four years - less than half of Wallace's sentence. But the scandal has rumbled on ever since with the government setting up a series of increasingly bizarre whitewash inquiries in to the allegations of a cover up. The first inquiry collapsed on its first day when three of its five members resigned in protest over the fact that they were not to be allowed to investigate the cover up. The inquiry was then put into the hands of the Chief Constable of Sussex, specifically into the hands of the Chief Superintendent who had prosecuted Wallace for the frame up manslaughter charge. A third inquiry under Judge Hughes then decided that it would not hear evidence from those convicted of the offences nor from those who first made the complaint in the 1970s. Wallace was eager to give evidence but demanded that he be given immunity from prosecution under the Official Secrets Act. Mrs Thatcher, chief beneficiary of the activities of the secret services in discrediting her Labour and Tory opponents, vetoed this herself. Documents about Kincora were then stolen from the House of Commons and just as mysteriously returned. The classic signs of a determined effort to cover up this whole story are present.

Foot does not deal in detail with Fred Holroyd, who was an officer in the Special Military Intelligence Unit in the Six Counties in the mid 1970s. Holroyd too appears to have fallen victim to a Wallace style fate. He saw first-hand how the SAS were used to assassinate Republicans, plant bombs and supply explosives to loyalist organisations. Holroyd was, for example, told by SAS Captain Robert Nairac that he and members of the loyalist UVF had crossed into the Twenty Six Counties to assassinate IRA man John Francis Green. It has also emerged that Nairac probably supplied the explosives and organised the sectarian murder of the Mian Showband in August 1975. By the killings MI5 hoped to torpedo the ceasefire that had been negotiated between the IRA and the Labour government. Holroyd protested and was discredited by the simple expedient of being declared unfit and put in a mental hospital. Both Wallace and Holroyd's stories are verified by Clive Ponting, a former senior MoD civil servant. He described how plans were made to contain the two men's stories should they leak.

There is now sufficient evidence to show that the Thatcher government has spent a lot of time and money containing leaks about these matters. After all, it would not do to show the British, 'mother of democracies' riddled with corruption, that its people who have the great privilege of marking a ballot paper every five years are even duped in that exercise and that its state machine runs on the oil of murder, forgery, deceit and trickery. ■

*Who Framed Colin Wallace* by Paul Foot. Published by MacMillan, price £12.95, 306 pp.



Loyalists show their glee over the collapse of the executive

also partly earned by its lack of curiosity, its lack of care, its lack of democratic spirit.

Paul Foot, a talented journalist tells the story well and is clearly committed to exposing what is evidently a frame-up. Colin Wallace, for many years the loyal servant of the British state at some point became a critic. His feet barely touched the ground before he found himself in prison. Foot deals with both the nature of Wallace's service to the British state and his subsequent disillusion and frame up. In this review I will deal mainly with the material concerning Wallace's work in covert operations in Ireland. It is, after all, tempting to say of a man that spent his career discrediting others and now finds himself discredited, that he has been hoist with his own petard. But it would be unproductive to gloat. For

van, killing three operatives.) One of Wallace's coups was to plant a story in the press that IRA bombs were exploding prematurely because of impure chemicals. In fact faulty detonators were the culprits but the Army story may have misled the IRA for some time. Another story, widely reported in the British press was that nitrobenzene, a bomb ingredient, caused leukaemia to those who stored or handled it. Indeed there was no story too silly - including a story that three Soviet trotskyists (a rare breed indeed) had been smuggled into Ireland aboard a Soviet submarine - for the British press to swallow.

In 1973, after MI5 took over secret work in the Six Counties from MI6, a new operation began: 'Clockwork Orange'. Wallace was involved centrally in this. It started as an operation to amass (and manufacture) informat-



# CRISIS OF WORLD SOCIALISM Cuba—

Marxism/Leninism and the socialist system itself are under attack both from within and without the socialist countries. Capitalism's millionaire class and its ideologues can barely contain their glee. Instead of proletarian internationalism we see narrow national-self interest and racism threatening to tear the Soviet Union apart. The leading role of the party is surrendered in Poland and looks like going the same way in Hungary. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Communist officials praise the virtues of Western style pluralist democracy. Rather than the pursuit of centralised planning, socialist states have recourse to the market place. Instead of voluntary labour, bonus systems and profit incentives flourish. The spirit of collectivism and socialist morality are reserved for special occasions, while capitalism's consumer culture holds youth enthralled as crime steadily rises. The struggle for women's equality gives way to part-time work and the 'virtues' of domestic labour.

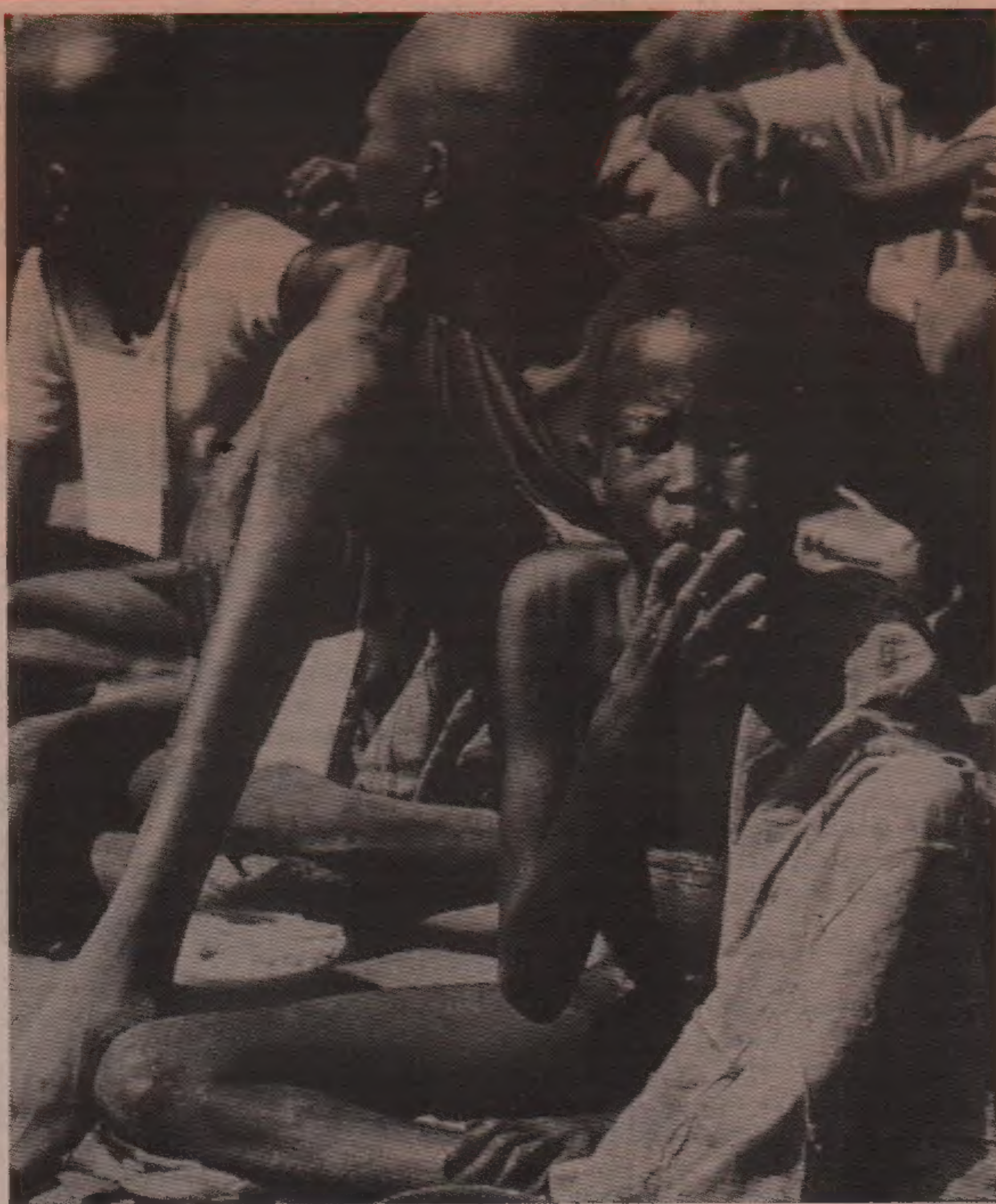
TREVOR RAYNE examines the crisis.

When Marx and Engels announced the principles of communism the bourgeoisie filled with hatred and bile. These principles guided the oppressed to their first great victory in 1917 and have reshaped the planet ever since. No wonder the millionaires are in ecstasy at the idea that their mortal foe is in trouble. But Marxism/Leninism is a science at the service of the victims of capital. For as long as capitalism exists so will its victims, and there is no other way for them to go other than to their ruin or to socialism. Marxism/Leninism provides the means to understand the problems that are afflicting the socialist countries, and to solve them.

Much of the British left claims that we are dealing with 'Stalinism' and its legacy in the socialist movement. This ahistorical and Eurocentric approach explains nothing. Its adherents blindly applaud every opposition to socialism from Solidarnosc to the Beijing students regardless of their programmes or class bases. No effort is made to understand the social relations of production in socialist societies, and no notice is paid whatsoever to the impact of imperialism upon the socialist states (see *Socialist Worker*, *Militant*, *The Next Step*, *Seven Days* etc.) It is the very feebleness of the Socialist movement in the imperialist nations that increases the problems for the working classes of the socialist countries.

Imperialism, with its higher productivity and huge exploitation of the Third World, has maintained constant pressure on the socialist countries since their formation. Economic underdevelopment has exacerbated their problems, particularly in agriculture, and made socialist development and planning difficult. In order to try and raise output several socialist countries have resorted to 'market socialism': Hungary, Poland and China for longer than the other socialist states. This process resembles the New Economic Policy introduced in the Soviet Union in 1921. Lenin understood that with its free markets, profit schemes and reliance on material incentives it was a retreat from socialism, forced upon it by dire circumstances, but necessary for future advance.

Lenin noted the favourable response NEP received from the Bolsheviks' class enemies. He focussed upon a bourgeois exile publication *Smena Vekh* which supported Soviet power implementing NEP because it



**'Imagine what would happen in the world if the socialist community were to disappear. This would mean... that the imperialist powers would set upon the Third World like wild beasts, they would divide up the oil, the natural resources, and the labour of billions; three-quarters of the world's people would once again fall under colonialism.'**

saw it as leading towards a bourgeois state. 'This is very useful...' remarked Lenin 'It is much better for us if the *Smena Vekh* people write in that strain than if some of them pretend to be almost communists... We must say frankly that such candid enemies are useful. We must say frankly that the things Ustryalov speaks about are possible. History knows all sorts of metamorphoses'. Lenin pointed out that *Smena Vekh*'s views were shared by thousands of Soviet employees who implemented NEP. People who were capitalists at heart could happily implement the Communists' NEP line. 'The fight

against capitalist society has become a hundred times more fierce and perilous, because we are not always able to tell friends from enemies.'

When the Chinese People's Daily announces that stock issuing companies are 'precisely' the form of common ownership envisaged by Marx (August 1986); when the Polish Communist Minister for Industry tells *The Wall Street Journal* that 'There haven't been communists in Poland for a long time. Nobody wants to hear about Marx and Lenin anymore'; when George Bush can exult that *Das Kapital* has been removed from Budapest's Karl Marx Universi-

ty compulsory reading list, real communists know that the danger envisaged by Lenin has been realised: the bourgeoisie has entered the Party.

Free markets now control 70% of domestic trade in Hungary, 50% in Poland and a large proportion of goods traded in China. The private sector has been expanding in all three countries. At the same time commercial banks are able to set their own interest rates and lend on a profitable basis in each of the three countries. Socialised property is giving way to private property, inherited wealth and stock markets. This is the basis for expanded capitalist accumulation. The bourgeois class that it generates has every interest in exploiting workers, selling on imperialist markets and using the profits made to import cheap capitalist commodities. This in itself does not mean that the socialist state is deformed or out of the control of the working class and peasantry. But, when Communist Party officials privatise state property and take private shares in the newly formed enterprises, as has happened in China, Hungary and Poland, then the Party is becoming an instrument of the bourgeoisie and not the working class.

Following in the wake of the emerging bourgeoisie are the socialist countries' petit-bourgeois intelligentsia. They have found an ally in European social democracy, and like it they collude with the imperialists to expand their privileges. This section of socialist society has been the most eager to exploit the space opened up by *Glasnost* to promote the virtues of the market, pluralism, incorporation into the EEC etc.

**Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** knows that capitalism cannot solve the problems of the socialist countries. Imperialism has meant death for 25 million people killed in its wars against the oppressed nations since 1945. It has left 70 million children homeless on the streets of Latin America alone. In its heartlands racism, poverty, drug addiction and crime are running rife. It is like a muscular athlete whose legs are rotting with gangrene. When President Bush toured Poland and Hungary in July he went to cheer the aspiring capitalists on. They, like Bush himself in Central America, Southern Africa, Palestine, Afghanistan and South East Asia will only bring misery and death. ■

**Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** has achievements of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro. We do this because Cuba's expression of revolutionary principles in its intervention in the global debate about the thorough defence of Marxism-Leninism against liberalism and revisionism elsewhere.

in the bourgeois press. Imperialism knows that it has sought to destroy the Cuban revolution.

In these selections from Fidel Castro's anniversary of the attack on Moncada in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. One of the consequences is the increasing mounting belligerence against Cuba. The Soviet Union's response to Cuban offers of co-operation. Another consequence is the dissemination of propaganda within the socialist countries. The Cuban weekly newspaper *Granma* shows the back against those who would peddle the socialist camp.

## 'THERE ARE TWO KINDS OF COMMUNISTS'

'Never has any government, not even that of Reagan, been so arrogant, never has anyone given such arrogant speeches. In the face of difficulties in the socialist camp, but fundamentally in some socialist countries, the Bush administration has given speeches that take the premise that the socialist community is in decline, that socialism is in decline, that socialism will end up in the trash heap of history, which is precisely the place those brilliant creators of the socialist movement reserved for capitalism.'

'In the face of these difficulties - which are evident and which everyone acknowledges - which have existed and exist in Poland, the difficulties in socialism which have existed and exist in Hungary, Bush organised a triumphal tour, a triumphal trip to these two countries in recent weeks. It's clear that there are difficulties there, and Bush didn't go to those countries by chance. He went there to encourage the capitalist tendencies developing there and the political problems which have emerged there.'

'In light of these phenomena, are we perhaps witnessing peaceful transition from socialism to capitalism? This is possible; we're not against it. We defend each country's and each Party's sacred right to independence. This is what we ask for all the people in the world, for the right of each country to construct socialism if it wants, which is something the United States tries to prevent by force of arms...'

'I believe many mistakes have been made that have created these problems. Sometimes I even wonder if it wouldn't be better if the new generations born into socialist Poland and Hungary didn't take a little trip through capitalism, so that they could get to know it: the egoism, brutality and inhumanity of capitalist society. This is a very delicate point, but these are my sincere reflections on these problems.'

*The imperialists and their allies within the socialist countries know that it is Lenin and the legacy of the Bolshevik revolution which provide the major obstacle to restoring capitalism.*

'During his triumphal tour, it is said that a multitude greeted Bush in Gdansk, Poland. And according to



# vanguard in defence of revolution

consistently focussed upon the  
and the contributions of its leader

and Castro provide the clearest ex-  
practice. Furthermore, Fidel Castro's  
socialism is the most creative and  
in the midst of barely disguised  
for this Castro and Cuba are vilified  
what it is doing: for 30 years it

speech made on 26 July, the 36th  
Garrison, he discusses develop-  
Union and how they affect Cuba.

and confidence of imperialism and its  
is illustrated by the US govern-  
operation against the drug trade.

on of anti-Marxist, anti-Cuban pro-  
themselves. The selections from the  
w the Cuban communists fighting  
imperialism's message from within

ews reports from the biggest US  
ews agency there were many plac-  
ds... that said, "The best Com-  
unist is a dead Communist!" You  
e how profoundly fascist, how  
early fascist, these placards in  
dansk were during Bush's tour.

'Of course, there are two kinds of  
communists: Communists who let  
themselves be killed easily and Com-  
munists like us who don't let them-  
selves be killed easily!' (Prolonged  
applause and shouts of "Fidel, Fidel,  
live the Yankees Hell!")

'The imperialist news agency wire  
ories gleefully relate that other  
lacards said, 'Lenin, Jaruzelski,  
murderers!' I'm not going to defend  
Jaruzelski, I think he can defend  
himself. But what does it mean that in  
country whose liberation from  
fascism cost the blood of a half a  
million Soviet soldiers, people call  
Lenin, the founder of the first  
socialist state, a murderer? Lenin,  
who opened the road to liberation for  
the peoples of the world, the founder  
of the first socialist state, whose  
revolution made possible the disap-  
pearance of colonialism. When more  
than 100 states gained their in-  
dependence, more than 100 former  
colonies gained their independence.  
m leaving aside whatever political  
errors the Soviet Union may have  
committed in other times in relation  
to Poland: I'm referring only to the  
fact that half a million Soviets died  
fighting alongside Poles for the  
liberation of Poland. How repugnant  
is to use the term 'murderer' for  
Lenin, whose people achieved vic-  
tory, liberated the world from fascism  
with the sacrifice of 20 million of  
their best sons and daughters. To call  
Lenin a murderer is really distress-  
ing.

'Mr Bush has a policy of peace  
toward the big powers and of war  
toward the small progressive  
peoples. His policy is based on the  
premise that if socialism disinte-  
grates the Cuban Revolution would  
disappear. This reasoning increases  
the aggressivity and hostility of US  
imperialism toward our people, to-  
ward our Revolution, toward our  
country.

'This is the truth. For this reason  
we now see the empire more insolent  
than ever, more villainous than ever,  
more threatening than ever.

'Imagine what would happen in  
the world if the socialist community  
were to disappear. This would mean,  
if this were possible - and I don't

believe it is - that the imperialist  
powers would set upon the Third  
World like wild beasts, they would  
divide the world up all over again like  
in the worst days before the victory of  
the first proletarian revolution. They  
would divide up the oil, the natural  
resources, and the labour of billions  
of people; three-quarters of the  
world's people would once again fall  
under colonialism...

'There are difficulties and the ten-  
sion between nationalities in the  
Soviet Union is increasing. Internal  
tensions are also evident in the Soviet  
Union, and we've seen the strike of  
hundreds of thousands of coal miners  
in Siberia, in Donestsk and other  
places. These reports fill the reac-  
tionaries world-wide and the im-  
perialists with joy.

'The problems of the Soviet Union  
are of great concern to the Third  
World countries, the former colonies,  
whose peoples don't wish to be recol-  
onised, because the Soviet Union has  
been their fundamental and firmest  
ally.

'At the sight of these problems, the  
imperialists start to dream of a  
1000-year empire, like the one  
dreamed of by Adolf Hitler with his  
Third Reich. He thought it would last  
1000 years, but actually it lasted very  
little time indeed. It's possible that in  
the most reactionary sectors of im-  
perialism these dreams are being  
repeated, and I'm sure that they  
won't last long either...'

## POISON FROM WITHIN THE SOCIALIST CAMP

The processes of glasnost and  
perestroika launched by President  
Gorbachev in the Soviet Union have  
created space which counter-  
revolutionaries have exploited. Such  
elements have no place in Cuba and  
their poison will not seep into the  
masses. The Central Committee of the  
Cuban Communist Party recently  
cancelled the circulation in Cuba of  
Moscow News and the magazine  
Sputnik.

'It is important to stress that we  
know how to differentiate between  
the official viewpoints of the Party  
and government of the USSR and the  
opinions of their leaders, on one  
hand, and the ideas of a columnist, a  
journalist or any other citizen who ex-  
presses himself in Soviet publica-  
tions, on the other hand.

'But what we have no doubt about is  
our rejection of articles published in  
Moscow News and Sputnik which  
give the impression that the USSR  
has been left without any history. In  
one article after another, in a seem-  
ingly interminable wave, the idea is  
reinforced that it is necessary to start  
making history from scratch, over-  
coming years of errors, crimes, unfor-  
tunate incidents and stupidity; that  
all that has happened before must be  
renounced in order to move forward,  
with new concepts that have not been  
ideologically compromised, along  
the path of economic development,  
imitating methods of developed  
capitalist countries, with all the  
related consequences.

'They forget that only as a result of  
what has been accomplished in these  
years of Soviet power and in the light  
of the strategic parity that has been  
achieved, is it possible for the current  
process in that country to take place.

'Those who are not fully aware of  
the USSR's history will lament 70  
years of lost time. Those who are not  
firmly convinced of the historical  
need for socialism and its potential  
could come to doubt its viability and  
even lose hope. Those who dream of  
its dismantling applaud these efforts  
and collaborate with them.

'These publications deny history  
and make chaos of the present. Hid-

ing behind the shield of an indispen-  
sable diversity of opinion, formulas  
are propagated that promote anarchy.  
Their analysis of the way to act and  
utilise the guiding principles of  
Marxism/Leninism in line with new  
historical conditions introduces ele-  
ments which lead to its negation. The  
necessary search for new methods of  
economic management attempts to  
deny the political and ideological  
component of all economic policies  
and seems to ignore the fact that run-  
ning a socialist economy consists of  
something more than techniques and  
mechanisms.

'The pages of these publications  
reveal a defence of bourgeois democ-  
racy as the highest form of popular  
participation, as well as a fascination  
with the American way of life. Im-  
perialism has disappeared. Those in  
the Soviet Union who deny the  
guiding role of the Party and demand  
a multiparty system, advocate the  
free market, exalt foreign invest-  
ments, have rediscovered private  
property, and question international-  
ism and solidarity aid to other coun-  
tries are presented in these publica-  
tions as democrats, leftist radicals  
and defenders of the public interest.  
There is even space for those who ad-

'Of course there are two  
kinds of Communists:  
Communists who let  
themselves be killed easily  
and Communists like us  
who don't let themselves  
be killed easily'

vocate domestic servitude for women  
in these publications. There is no  
doubt about the subversion of these  
values. Their analysis of past and pre-  
sent realities gives way to unilateral  
attitudes. There were no enemies of  
Soviet power, only victims. Moscow  
News and Sputnik open the way for  
those who have begun to impugn  
Leninism and stand out for their of-  
fences to the memory of V.I.  
Lenin...

'... It would be practically absurd  
to try to persuade or convince  
a Cuban Communist that it is not his  
duty to defend the work of the Oc-  
tober revolution against the shameful  
and nihilistic attitudes so often ex-  
pressed in Moscow News and  
Sputnik.'

Unfortunately, it is not just the  
capitalist ruling class that hates  
Castro and the Cuban revolution:  
there are those who would mas-  
querade as socialists who snipe at the  
Cuban example from within the  
Socialist camp.

Granma points to a Hungarian  
publication Magyar Memzet and an  
article 'The General and the drugs' by  
Gabor Nagy. This article used only  
US and counter-revolutionary sour-  
ces and was read out over the US  
Radio Marti. The author accuses Che  
Guevara and Salvador Allende of  
linking up to establish a drugs traffic  
into the USA. Further he slanders the  
300,000 Cuban volunteers who served  
in Angola by claiming that they  
have returned with drug addictions  
and AIDS 'to find an economy in  
ruins and incapable of offering a job  
to all of them.'

'It matters little whether Nagy is a  
flesh and blood reporter or someone  
hiding behind a pseudonym with  
perverse intentions. The staunchest

enemy of Cuba, in any US intelli-  
gence office, couldn't have done  
better.

'The beautiful, centuries old  
revolutionary traditions of the Cuban  
people cannot be tarnished by these  
epithets, lies and slander. If he tried  
to read his article to any group of  
Cuban workers, Gabor Nagy  
wouldn't be able to finish. The peo-  
ple's indignation would be too great.  
Nor would he be able to finish  
reading it to Hungarian workers,  
historical heirs to Kossuth, Bela Kun  
and the Hungarian internationalists  
who fought alongside the Spanish  
people in the 1936 Civil War. Hun-  
garian revolutionaries would  
quickly discover its true counter-  
revolutionary essence.

'People like Nagy are letting  
themselves be used in the worldwide  
campaign carried out by the current  
US administration against socialism.  
And we must also consider the  
possibility that individuals like  
Gabor Nagy feel somehow obliged to  
pay back the empire for the weak pro-  
mises of economic aid made by Presi-  
dent Bush in his recent visit to Hun-  
gary.

'If this is the case, he is trading his  
principles for a lousy bowl of gou-  
lash. With "drugs" from this idea  
trafficker such as "The General and  
drugs", Gabor Nagy can make his  
own personal "revolution" and, for  
example, become the Budapest  
bureau chief for Radio Marti.

'The Cuban people will not quietly  
tolerate attacks of this kind, which  
are particularly repugnant because  
they are published in a newspaper in  
the Hungarian People's Republic.  
Furthermore, Magyar Nemzet is not a  
counter-revolutionary rag or a  
bulletin put out by the so-called infor-  
mal or opposition groups. It is  
nothing less than the publication of  
the Patriotic People's Front.

'Cubans have been faced with  
slander from the common enemy for  
three decades. If crossfire breaks out  
now from other latitudes, the Cuban  
people will know how to deal with it.'

## THE GLITTERING RUBBISH HEAP OF US CAPITALISM

The British press, like its US counter-  
part, has revelled in the Cuban drugs  
scandal. Almost without exception  
they have used it to try and stain the  
image and reputation of Fidel Castro  
and the Cuban revolution. None will  
report the obvious: that Cuba has  
been the only country in the Amer-  
icas to deal with the drug racket  
seriously and successfully; that the  
criminals were tried in public and  
given exemplary sentences, and that  
Cuba has offered the USA coopera-  
tion if it wants to wipe out the trade.

In an editorial Granma (13 August  
1989) responds to the attitude taken  
by the Bush administration towards  
Cuba during a series of committee  
meetings held in the US House of  
Representatives and Senate at the end  
of July. The US government threw  
every obstacle it could lay hands on to  
prevent Cuban-USA co-operation.  
Cuba, it should be remembered, is  
critically located on the route from  
the Latin American cocaine labo-  
ratories to the southern USA.

'Attesting to the magnitude of the  
problem are these hair-raising fig-  
ures: 760 million doses of cocaine -  
valued at over 91 billion dollars - are  
annually consumed in the United  
States. The 25 million marijuana  
smokers in the United States, in turn  
consume nine to ten million kilo-  
grams, valued at over 27 billion dol-  
lars a year.

'Those nearly 120 billion dollars a  
year - without counting the traffic  
and sale of other drugs like crack,  
morphine and heroin - would be

enough, for example, to pay off all of  
Latin America's foreign debt in less  
than four years.

'Or they would be more than  
enough to give Latin American's 46  
million unemployed workers twice  
the continent's average minimum  
wage.'

Granma makes the telling observa-  
tion that while the US government  
knew of General Ochoa's participa-  
tion in the cocaine runs it did not in-  
form the Cuban government.

'The truth is that because they fail-  
ed to co-operate with Cuba by pro-  
viding that information, six tons of  
cocaine - the equivalent to four  
million doses - were smuggled into  
US territory. Although this repre-  
sents less than one percent of the  
United States' annual cocaine con-  
sumption, some teenagers in the  
United States may have died on ac-  
count of these drugs or crimes related  
to them. Some families may be now in  
mourning just because President  
George Bush's administration did not  
permit its specialised agencies to co-  
operate with the Cuban government.

'In contrast, not a single word was  
said at those hearings about the fact  
that when Cuba once learned,  
through its own intelligence, that  
there was an assassination attempt  
being planned against then President  
Reagan, it took Cuba less than 48  
hours to inform the pertinent US  
authorities.'

US capitalism puts the war against  
communism before the war against  
drugs. We saw in the Contragate  
scandal how Colonel Oliver North  
and the White House would even  
peddle drugs if it meant damaging  
the Nicaraguan revolution. Never-  
theless, no matter how brazen the US  
government's crimes, no matter how  
red-handed it gets caught the Big Lie  
must still be told - often and loudly.

'One of the people who testified at  
the hearings, Michael Kozak, deputy  
assistant secretary for inter-American  
affairs, alluded to this problem and  
said, 'In fact, Cuba is not afraid of the  
United States' threats but of its exam-  
ple.'

'For 30 years we have done without  
that "example". But when that "ex-  
ample" consists of the largest con-  
sumer of drugs in the world, the  
society of pornography and child  
prostitution, with the greatest con-  
centration of AIDS patients in the  
world, the country with 70 million il-  
literate and functional illiterates  
who proliferate at the rate of two  
million a year, the society where you  
can buy a powerful firearm freely in a  
hardware store, a world where US  
statistics shows that by the time they  
are 16, adolescents have seen  
200,000 acts of violence on televi-  
sion, in that case, we have the right to  
legitimate defence to protect our-  
selves from that "example". No one  
could question this act of defence by  
Cuba, no matter how much it annoys  
Mr. Kozak.'

Granma concludes that the scan-  
dalously lenient sentence given  
Oliver North, combined with the re-  
jection of Cuban assistance in the  
drug war show that, 'The Bush ad-  
ministration, like its predecessor in  
the White House, has behaved like a  
vulgar accomplice of its own rabble'  
... 'Our offer has been made with  
the usual seriousness which charac-  
terises the Cuban Revolution. It's up  
to Washington to respond: either it  
accepts Cuban intentions as they are,  
treats Cuba on an equal footing and  
fulfils its obligations to its own peo-  
ple, or it can be swept away by the  
triumphal hallucinations which it  
believes are a proper part of its histor-  
ical destiny, while US society ac-  
quires more and more the tragic  
splendour of Sodom and Gomorrah.'



In the first place Chartism not only had the backing of the main body of the working class but became a militant movement which for a period of time was powerful enough to threaten revolution. Secondly, Chartism embraced international working class solidarity which is the foundation of the communist tradition.

Chartism began as a movement against the political betrayals of the middle class by the Reform Act of 1832. The Act was directed against the political monopoly of the landed and financial aristocracy and gave representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie access to parliament. The proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie who had been the main forces in the struggle for reform were not enfranchised. They had fought hard not just for the vote but also for social and economic change. They had flocked, between 1820 and 1834, into Trade Unions – only to have them crushed by the combined action of the Whig Government, the Law Courts and the employers. They had fought hard for Sadler's Bill, the Ten Hours Bill, which they were not to win until 1847. And they were, in 1836-7, just beginning the great fight against the introduction of the New Poor Law into the industrial areas. This law centred on the new workhouses, the 'bastilles' and was a punitive and vicious attack on the unemployed, the 'reserve pool of labour' for the capitalist. It is no surprise that the movement for parliamentary reform which began around the People's Charter, driven on by hunger and hatred of the ruling class, soon emerged as a 'workingmen's cause freed from all bourgeois elements' (Engels).

#### 'MORAL' OR 'PHYSICAL' FORCE?

The six demands of the Charter were: adult male suffrage; annual general elections; payment of MPs; vote by ballot; equal electoral representation, and abolition of the property qualification.

At the Chartist Convention in February 1839 there were three factions loosely divided between the 'moral force' and the 'physical force' schools. The first, Lovett and the London Workingmen's Association, developed from among skilled artisans, printers and other working craftsmen, and had been earlier connected with Owenism and similar petit bourgeois socialist doctrines. They argued that Chartism must remain strictly within constitutional limits.

In opposition was a radical petit bourgeois current led by Feargus O'Connor, which had a slogan 'peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must'. Finally there was the left-wing of Chartism, which recruited from low-paid workers, including Irish labourers, and which regarded physical rebellion as the only possible way of winning the Charter. This section recognised that the implementation of the six points of the Charter would lead to the political supremacy of the working class in the conditions of the times. As Julian Harney, a leading representative of left-wing Chartism argued in the *London Democrat* in 1839, those who called for a National Holiday (general strike) should Parliament reject the National Petition for the Charter, should understand that they were calling for insurrection.

#### DECISIVE SPLIT

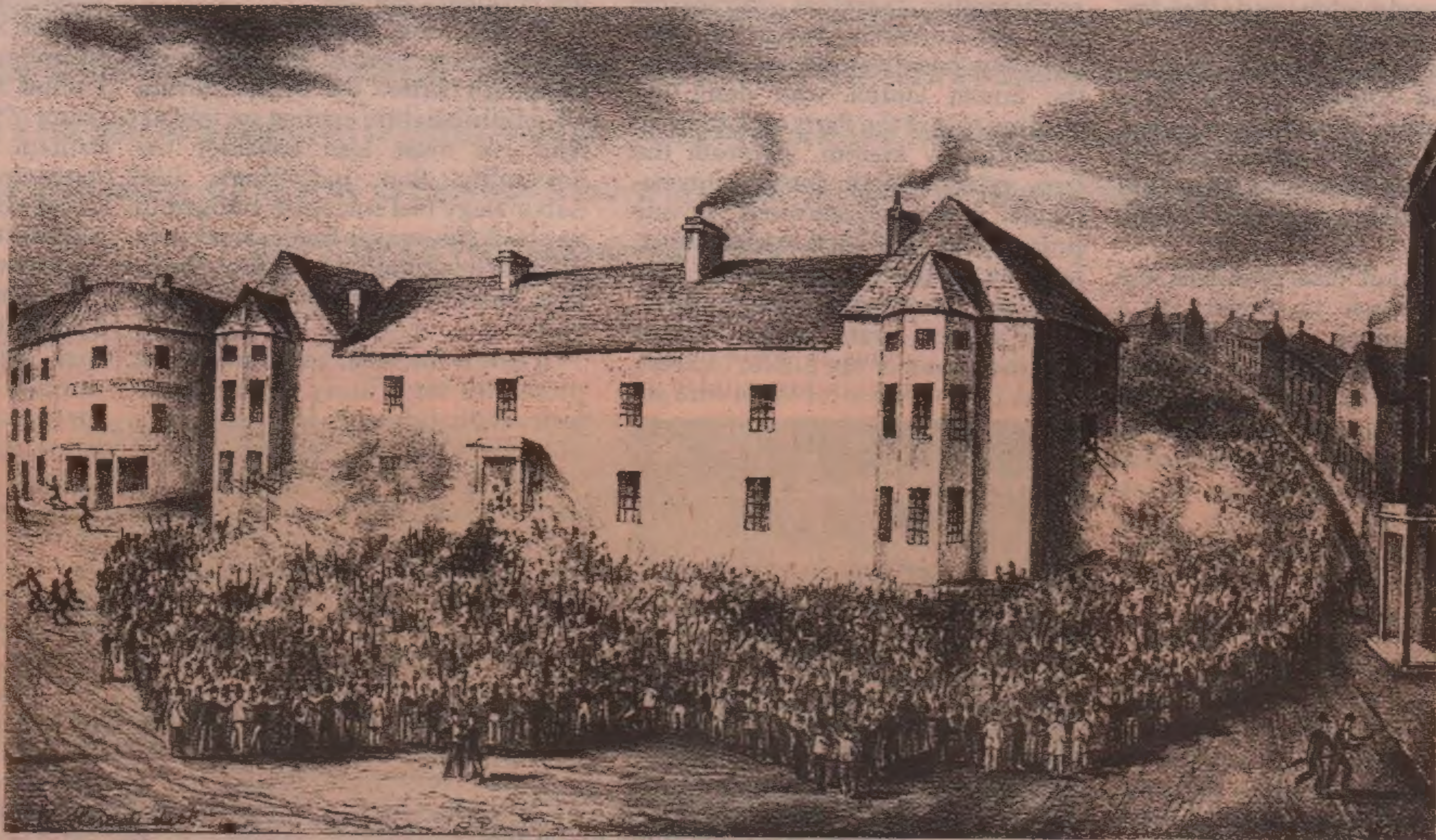
These different tendencies around the People's Charter necessarily came into conflict. The decisive split came in 1842. Agitation had built up in parts of the country around the Anti-Corn Law League which demanded cheap importation of food for the cities. An alliance between the radical middle class and the working class now embraced both the League and the Charter. However, after wage cuts by the mill owners of Manchester, many of whom supported 'cheap food', there was a militant uprising of hungry workers. When it became clear that the working class were fighting for their own interests and

## PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM – PART FOUR

# The Chartists

**The first mass working class party in the history of the labour movement was the National Charter Association founded in July 1840. It had 50,000 signed up members at its height and many thousands more active supporters.**

**Chartism has always had a special place in the communist tradition. Marx and Engels saw the Chartists as a movement truly reflecting the interests of the lower strata of society, the mass of proletarians. Lenin described Chartism as 'the first broad, truly mass and politically organised revolutionary movement': its later defeat saw socialism in Britain pushed into the background by 'opportunistic semi-bourgeois leaders of the trade unions and co-operatives'. He called Chartism 'the last word but one before Marxism'. SUSAN DAVIDSON and DAVID REED examine the features of Chartism which make it an important historical movement relevant to us today.**



TOP: Chartists attack the Newport Inn in 1839, ABOVE: George Julian Harney, RIGHT: Feargus O'Connor, FAR RIGHT Poster advertising the demonstration of April 10 1848



## CHARTIST DEMONSTRATION!!

**"PEACE and ORDER" is our MOTTO!**

**TO THE WORKING MEN OF LONDON.**  
Fellow Men,—The Press having misrepresented and vilified us and our intentions, the Demonstration Committee therefore consider it to be their duty to state that the grievances of us (the Working Classes) are deep and our demands just. We and our families are pining in misery, want, and starvation! We demand a fair day's wages for a fair day's work! We are the slaves of capital—we demand protection to our labour. We are political serfs—we demand to be free. We therefore invite all well disposed to join in our peaceful procession on

**MONDAY NEXT, April 10,**  
As it is for the good of all that we seek to remove the evils under which we groan.

The following are the places of Meeting of THE CHARTISTS, THE TRADES, THE IRISH CONFEDERATE & REPEAL BODIES:  
East Division on Stepney Green at 8 o'clock;  
City and Finsbury Division on Clerkenwell Green at 9 o'clock; West Division in Russell Square at 9 o'clock; and the South Division in Peckham Fields at 9 o'clock, and proceed from thence to Kennington Common.  
Signed on behalf of the Committee, JOHN LLOYD, Sec.

would not limit their struggle to middle class interests, the alliance broke and the liberal bourgeoisie turned on the workers and took the side of the government in putting down the revolt with great brutality.

The result of this Manchester uprising and others in many northern cities was the separation of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie in the Chartist movement. This separation was formalised at the Birmingham National Convention of 1842-3 when Sturge, a representative of the liberal element proposed that the name of the Charter be omitted from the rules of the Charter Association on the grounds that it was associated with violence and insurrection. This was refused and Sturge and his supporters walked out. The 'moral force' school of Chartism went into decline and eventual obscurity.

After the European revolutions of 1848, Chartist agitation built up to a new pitch. While O'Connor was org-

anising for a new petition to Parliament many Chartists, who held that petitioning was useless, argued that the right course was to organise a revolutionary outbreak. Drilling and arming went on all over the industrial areas on a much larger scale than before. Many who supported the petition were discussing what would be done when it was rejected as it certainly would be. At this point the left-wing split over a call for a National Assembly of one hundred delegates to replace the Convention and to remain in session until the Charter had become law, in other words, virtually a Provisional Government. Ernest Jones attended this new National Assembly, O'Connor and Julian Harney did not. Jones, the friend of Marx and Engels, thereby put himself at the head of revolutionary Chartism.

#### DEFEAT

On 10 April the Petition was to be

presented by a massive demonstration on Kennington Common in south London. The government and middle class were prepared to make this a decisive battle. The demonstration and march were declared illegal. The Duke of Wellington had overall command of defence. 170,000 volunteers from the upper and middle classes were enrolled as special constables. The centre of London was sandbagged as if for a siege. The newspapers warned everybody not to attend because there would be slaughter. In the event 100,000 gathered at Kennington Common, most having walked there since the earliest hours. O'Connor begged the crowds to disperse peacefully, and, disappointed and dispirited at not putting up a fight, they did.

This abject end to the Kennington Common demonstration broke the back of the Chartist movement. The Petition was taken to Westminster 'undangerously in a few cabs'. A deb-

ate on it was postponed for fifteen months when by a majority of 222-17 it was rejected. This was the third petition to be rejected after an estimated nine million individuals had taken part in signing the Charters.

Throughout the rest of the year a large section of the Chartists continued to prepare for an armed rising. Serious outbreaks of fighting occurred in many places in the North. But the government was now confident and crushed all resistance, imprisoning and transporting hundreds of workers and Chartist leaders. Chartism was a movement in decline from this period onwards.

#### INTERNATIONALISM

The internationalist sympathies of Chartism had existed from the beginning. It had links with revolutionaries from Europe, but above all with Ireland. The Second National Chartist Petition presented to Parliament in 1842 included the demand for the repeal of the Union with Ireland. Revolutionary Irish nationalists and Chartist speakers shared platforms in Britain and Ireland throughout the years of agitation. In 1846 an international society, the Fraternal Democrats, was established, which supported all important political events in other countries, the uprising in Cracow in Poland, the February revolution in Paris, the revolt of the Junta in Portugal. They put out manifestos and organised demonstrations in support of these struggles. It is significant that the columns of the front page of O'Connor's paper the *Northern Star*, the leading Chartist paper, were invariably devoted to foreign news.

#### THE EMERGENCE OF THE LABOUR ARISTOCRACY

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century British capitalism, with the markets of the world at its command, relaxed the extreme pressure upon the workers which had marked its earlier phases. Wages rose and conditions improved especially for the skilled craftsmen who turned aside from Chartism to build up their new model Trade Union and their Co-operative Societies and found an accommodation with the ruling class. In 1850 Marx and Engels noted a growing split in the working class between 'the labour aristocracy' and 'the mass of workers who live in truly proletarian conditions'. And eight years later they concluded that:

'the English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable.'

The split in the working class movement is based on the material benefits of imperialist superprofits. Opportunism grows out of these conditions.

Mass struggles, revolts of a hungry and persecuted class, while they are necessary preconditions for a revolutionary situation do not in themselves guarantee revolution. The transformation is only possible when such struggles are led by a revolutionary party which can turn such spontaneous struggles into politically conscious ones to overthrow the existing order. Only under such conditions can opportunism be constantly exposed and defeated. This requires the fusion of (scientific) socialism with the working class movement. But it was precisely at the time when the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels was influencing the leaders of the revolutionary wing of Chartism that the movement of the working classes was smashed, betrayed and in decline.



# Racism in Liverpool

The Gifford Report into Race Relations in Liverpool is a depressing document in several ways. First, because it has taken two hundred years for any official recognition to be made of what has been self-evident to the people of Liverpool 8 – that they suffer racial discrimination at every level of life. Secondly, because the picture painted is one of a community so ravaged by the effect of racism that its sense of identity has all but disappeared. Thirdly, that despite that level of oppression, there is no sign of any serious political movement or organisation emerging from its ranks. ROBERT CLOUGH examines the history of racism in Liverpool.

The report itself summarises what a number of previous more specialised investigations have found, in the fields of housing, employment, health, education and policing. It offers a regrettably brief history of the black community in Liverpool. It also provides a large number of recommendations for action, especially for the City Council. Yet it is this hope that municipal socialism might start to deliver for black people which has to be questioned, especially since it has so signally failed in the past.

The black community has existed in Liverpool since the end of the eighteenth century, when Liverpool was the slaving capital of the world. It lives predominantly in a small part of Liverpool 8 as the middle class has moved to the suburbs. The report itself cites Charles Dickens who visited Liverpool in 1861, and observed a pub where the clientèle was overwhelmingly black; he quotes a police superintendent who was accompanying him:

'They generally kept together, these poor fellows, because they were at a disadvantage singly, and liable to slights in the neighbouring streets.'

Little changed through the years. 1919 brought demobilisation riots

similar to those in the US, costing the life of Charles Wootton, who was chased by a mob and thrown into a dock where he drowned. These were repeated in 1948, with the police extremely diligent in arresting black people defending their homes and lives, whilst showing no such zest in dealing with the white mobs. The 1970s were but a continuation: whites in the tenements of Myrtle Gardens tried to chase out black families which had been moved into the adjacent, newly completed Falkner Estate. Other incidents led a steady stream of black youth into the prison system, many on long sentences; some of them were to play a significant part in the struggle for prisoners' rights (a point not noted in the report).

A couple of campaigns against police racism were started, but these were eclipsed by the Uprising of 1981. Hundreds of black youth, supported by many white youth, fought the police with whatever they could lay their hands on. At one point, 3,000 police were stationed in and around the less than 100 acres of the Granby Triangle at the heart of the community. One man, David Moore, was killed by a police van, five were shot with CS gas shells. Tragically, no lasting political movement cap-

able of organising this revolutionary movement emerged.

Since then, racism has continued unabated. Even now, it is hard to find a black person behind a counter at one of the city centre stores – despite repeated surveys from the mid-70s onward. Given that black people make up some 8 per cent of the 500,000 population of Liverpool, the fact that for decades fewer than 1 per cent of City Council employees were black speaks volumes for municipal socialism. Today it stands at no more than 1.5 per cent. The second largest employer in Liverpool is the Area Health Authority. In 1983, 110 of its 16,000 employees were black, and only 3 out of its 306 trainee nurses. When last year a post was created with the responsibility of improving black people's access to the health service, the opposition from the local NUPE branch was hysterical. The largest private employer, Littlewoods, trumpeted after the Uprising that it would have a policy of a 5 per cent black workforce. Today, it stands closer to 0.5 per cent.

The report deals with housing conditions in some detail. Black people have been excluded from newly built properties, from sheltered accommodation; they have been dumped into the worst high rise blocks, and excluded from the best. A 1983 study by CRE into City Council nominations for housing association property showed that 62 per cent of white people got centrally heated property, and 25 per cent got gardens, as against 35 per cent and 6 per cent of black people. A contemporary study by Social Services showed only 7 black people in 1143 units of sheltered accommodation 8 out of 1038 in residential homes. The same study found that 9 out of 4553 received meals on wheels, and 6 out of 1038 received day care facilities.

This review cannot quote at any length from the other areas covered by the report – education, health, the police and the courts. But the position is exactly the same – whatever the measure, black people in Liverpool have suffered more because they are black. Readers should get the report for themselves to find out more. Suffice to say that when the authors described the situation in Liverpool as 'uniquely horrific', the evidence is on their side.

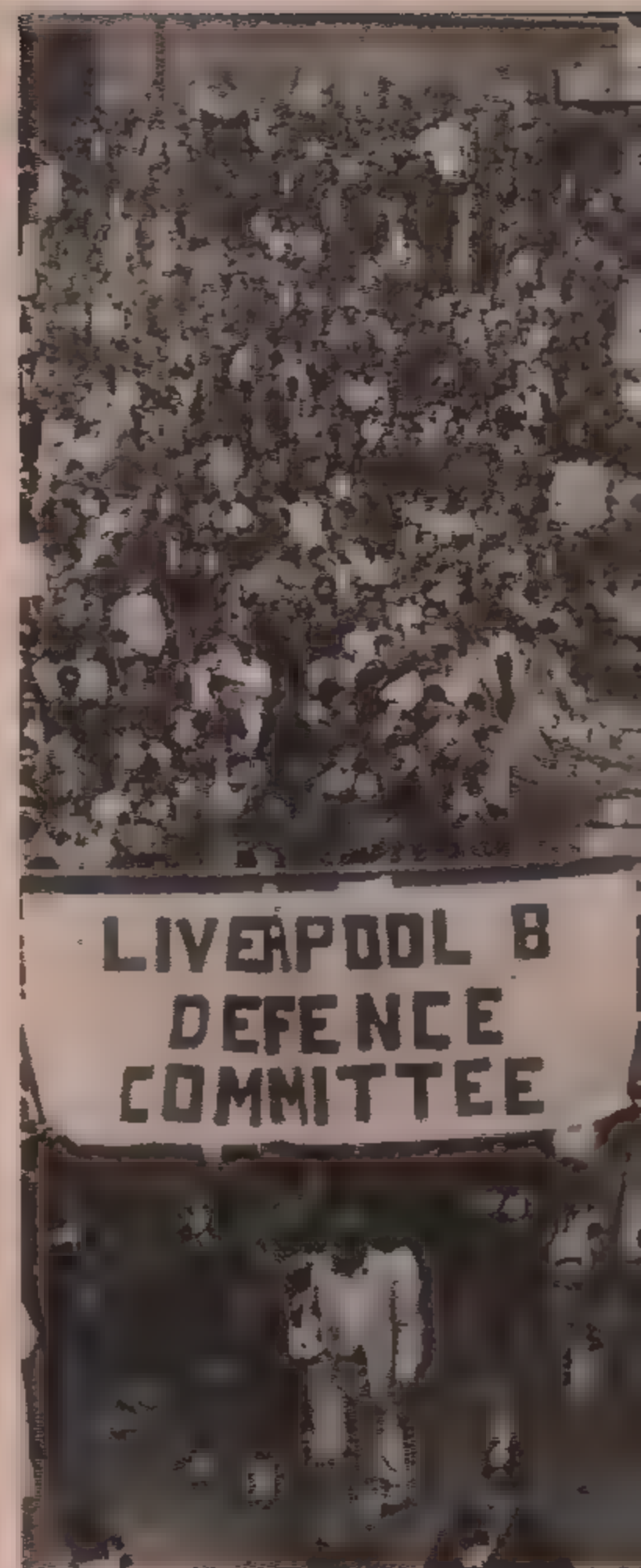
Municipal socialism of the right-wing variety or the left wing has been responsible for ensuring that this

state of affairs has continued for so long. Particularly the latter has a strong responsibility. The Militant control of the Council in 1983 saw a number of moves which showed utter contempt for the people of Liverpool 8. Firstly, they cancelled a significant sheltered accommodation project, three quarters of which would have been funded by central government. In the light of the figures cited above, the move caused outrage. Second, although they built 4000 new houses, only 185 were in the central Liverpool 8 area. Militant itself claimed nearly 1000, but this figure includes builds in areas of Liverpool 8 renowned for racism. Other claims by Militant show a similar creative use of statistics. The Sam Bond episode was merely a continuation of this style of politics, which in practice denies that black people suffer a double oppression beyond the fact that they are working class.

The City Council today is run by the pro-Kinnock wing of the Party. Given the continual undermining of local government finance, which the advent of the poll tax will only sorely exacerbate, it must be regarded as impossible for municipal socialism, whatever its subjective desires, to change its spots. Improving the access of black people in Liverpool 8 to education or housing demands expenditure which is not available. There is no control over policing – and anyway, the Liverpool police refused to co-operate with the enquiry. The example of NUPE above shows the trade unions will not play a role, a point underlined by the fact that only 3 out of 30 unions approached to set up a forum to encourage black participation in the trade union movement are actually participating in it. Whatever recommendation implemented as a result of the report will clearly only be window-dressing.

The people of Liverpool 8 showed a capacity to fight which electrified the oppressed in 1981. We must be confident that sooner or later, that spirit will reassert itself, and in a more organised form. The Gifford Report has done a service in highlighting some of the issues it will have to confront. It will be this kind of revolutionary movement which will start to settle the issue of racial oppression, not the spent force of municipal socialism. ■

*Loosen the Shackles – the Gifford Report into Race Relations in Liverpool. Published by Karia Press*



TOP: Texteth on the march, 1981  
ABOVE: Lord Gifford  
BELOW: Just a few routine questions, sir



## Racist murder in Oldham

On 26 July a fourteen year old Asian boy, Tahir Akram, was murdered by racists in Oldham, near Manchester. White men drove into Glodwick, a predominantly black area and opened fire on local people. Three Asians were wounded and Tahir was killed. SARAH RICCA describes the fightback.

Tahir's murder is the most vicious in a series of racist attacks in Glodwick. A local resident told FRFI how only three months earlier racists had smashed up the area after a football match. Another talked of police harassment, describing the local 'community copper', PC Potts, as a 'lunatic'.

With Tahir's murder local anger, particularly among the youth, was ready to explode. Desperate to contain the situation, the police and local

authorities tried to cover up the racist nature of the murder. News reports claimed that a 'mystery blow' killed him. Police suggested that the incident was drug related. The family was denied access to Tahir's body for two weeks. Statements were issued denying that he had been stabbed, beaten up or shot. The post mortem said he died of a massive haemorrhage, cause unknown. Only later was it revealed that an air gun pellet had entered his eye and severed a major artery. A 20-

year-old white man from Manchester has been charged with his murder.

The local authority responded to local anger by removing PC Potts from his position and promising an £11,000 grant and extra facilities to the local youth club. Community leaders set about stifling the attempts of the local youth to organise. The youth had elected a memorial committee and agreed to hold a march. Community leaders said this would lead to 'reprisals' from the racists. But as local secretary of the West Indian Association, Granville Lawrence told FRFI: 'When the NF discovered that we didn't want to do anything about [past attacks]... they walked in and they killed. This time we're not going to keep quiet.'

Unfortunately at this stage a division in the ranks of anti-racists emerged. Over the heads of the local youth the Oldham Committee Against Racism and Fascism (OCARF) called a march for 26 August. The Memorial Committee was not present when this was agreed. The youth asked OCARF to collaborate with their plans but OCARF refused. The youth

then called their own march for 2 September and boycotted the OCARF march which only 50 people attended.

These events meant that the most militant response to Tahir's murder had been defused. The promised concessions were withdrawn: the youth club's £11,000 was reduced to £3,000 and no extra facilities were to be given.

The youth are determined to carry on their fight against racist attacks. They are determined to press ahead with their own demonstration and other activities. It is very unfortunate that the response to a vicious racist murder should be disunity visibly expressed in two separate marches. OCARF, like the British left in general, should recognise that unity is essential and can only come about when the most determined and most militant opponents of racism, the black youth themselves, are placed at the centre of any campaign. As a great revolutionary said in the past 'There are none so fit to break the chains as those who wear them'. They must be defended and supported. ■





**FRFI remembers Claudia Jones – Communist freedom fighter and founder of the Notting Hill Carnival 30 years ago**

# A tribute to Claudia Jones

SUSAN DAVIDSON

**Amid the continuing controversy about the Notting Hill Carnival, communists everywhere remember with special affection the inspiring, at times lonely, struggles of a great communist woman, Claudia Jones, born in Trinidad in 1915, died in London 1964.**

In 1924 Claudia's family left impoverished Trinidad to make their lives in Harlem, New York. They were among the millions of black people who fled to the Northern cities of the USA after the First World War to escape poverty and Southern racism. As a young woman of 17 years, Claudia, seeing the poverty, exploitation and racism surrounding her, determined 'to develop an understanding of the sufferings of my people and my class and look for a way forward to end them.' She never flinched or changed from this commitment to understand and to act and devoted her life to this task.

In 1934 at the age of eighteen Claudia joined the Communist Party of the USA. She was active in day to day struggles in Harlem and in major activities like the Scottsboro Boys and the Hands Off Abyssinia! campaigns. By 1941 she became editor of the weekly newspaper of the Young Communist League, and her continuing experience in writing and editing the *Daily Worker* in the USA enabled her to re-launch the black press on her arrival in England with the publication of the *West Indian Gazette*.

Her time in the CPUSA was spent in urgent inner-party struggle. Against the revisionist leadership of Browder, she worked and argued for the building of a party of the poor and exploited that would stand by the goals of national self-determination for the oppressed.



After the end of the Second World War, the USA was swept by the anti-communism of General MacArthur and vicious repression was unleashed against all progressive and democratic organisations. Claudia was arrested and tried under the Smith Act and imprisoned on Ellis Island as an

'undesirable alien' after 24 years of residence in the USA.

Claudia was released on bail and conducted a principled campaign, involving Paul Robeson and CLR James as well as many hundreds of black and left wing activists, against the deportations and harassment. On

a speaking tour during which she addressed hundreds of working class people she defended not only herself, but the very existence of human rights: 'Our fate is the fate of American democracy'.

Finally she was re-arrested because of an article written in support of International Women's Day and deported to England in December 1955.

Claudia chose to be sent to England rather than Trinidad because she needed medication for a tubercular condition she had suffered since her poverty-stricken childhood in Harlem and which had worsened in prison. Nevertheless, she immediately became active in the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Caribbean Labour Congress and the short-lived West Indian Workers and Students Association.

Claudia was to live only nine years in England before her death, but during that time she worked tirelessly in the working class and black communities of London. After the Notting Hill 'riot' in 1958 which followed the racist murder on the streets of Kelso Cochrane, Claudia was a tower of strength in the area. She was on the Committee set up for those who were arrested for defending themselves against fascist attack. And it was she who proposed and organised the first Caribbean Carnival the following year, determined that the black settlers in Britain should stand together visible and proud of their West Indian culture and extend the hand of friendship and understanding to the host country. The first Carnival was held in Camden but thereafter in Notting Hill. She was also instrumental in bringing the Mighty Sparrow, a radical Calypso singer, to this country for a series of concerts.

It was after the 'riots' that Claudia almost single-handedly launched the *West Indian Gazette*, which she continued to write for and edit till her death. The first edition was a single-page flyer appearing within days of Kelso Cochrane's murder.

Largely through the pages of the *Gazette*, but also as an organiser and speaker, Claudia Jones campaigned on every vital issue of the day. She attacked the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act and the intervention in British Guiana to depose the left-wing thrice-elected People's Progressive Party under Dr. Cheddi Jagan. Through the Committee of Afro-Asian Caribbean Organisations she organised a massive demonstration in support of Nelson Mandela and the Rivonia trialists and was one of the hunger strikers protesting outside the South African Embassy.

Claudia was also very concerned with education and communist ideas. She wrote at length about the Caribbean Community in England and its relation to British imperialism and about the condition of women, especially the triple oppression of black women, with a multitude of facts and information. Always precise, always rigorous, Claudia never allowed self-indulgent rhetoric to cloud the issues. This remarkable woman stood by the words that she said in 1934 at eighteen years old, that socialism is the only way forward.

It was out of my Jim Crow experiences as a young Negro woman, experiences likewise born of my working-class poverty, that led me to join the Young Communist League and to choose the philosophy of my life, the science of Marxism-Leninism; that philosophy that not only rejects racist ideas, but is the antithesis of them.

Claudia Jones' grave is next to that of Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery, London. The inscription reads, 'Claudia Vera Jones, born Trinidad, 1915. Died London 25.12.1964. Valiant fighter against racism and imperialism who dedicated her life to the progress of socialism and the liberation of her own black people.' ■

## REVIEW

# The Great Escape!

**Out of the Maze is the story of how the IRA pulled off the impossible. Like the 'unsinkable' Titanic, the Maze/Long Kesh prison was built of water-tight compartments. Each of the 8 H-blocks a prison within a prison, beyond the blocks a further two sealed compounds, a double 'airlock' main gate stood between the prisoners and the countryside beyond.**

PAUL MCKINLAY

Basing his book on the accounts of a number of participants, Derek Dunne has produced a lively narrative of a truly epic event (the largest breakout in Europe since the Second World War) without losing sight of the political context amidst the drama.

The significance of the escape is explained in terms of the current phase of the struggle for Irish freedom. The planning of the escape took place at a time when the movement had been suffering a number of setbacks. The supergrass strategy was in full swing. Not only were scores of people suffering internment by remand, but many had also been convicted on the word of paid perjurers such as Christopher Black and Raymond Gilmour. The aim of this strategy was to put Republican activists behind bars.

In 1983 British strategy received two devastating blows. As Belfast street murals put it, 'Lean comes clean'. In October 'supergrass' Robert Lean retracted at a Sinn Féin press conference, having given his RUC Special Branch minders the slip and driven off in their car. The same Belfast walls were still freshly painted from the month before celebrating 'Meals on wheels for 38'. The IRA had taken control of H-Block getting 38 republican prisoners out on the daily food lorry.

This book is very revealing, not only in terms of the ingenuity and organisation of the IRA, but also in terms of the nature of the prison-struggle in the period following the defeat of the 1980/81 hungerstrikes. Dunne shows how the British administration was forced to recognise the Republican command structure which remained solid throughout, how the British

authorities were outmanoeuvred in their attempts to end segregation of republican prisoners, and how ending the no-work protest was used to gain access to the workshops either to disrupt them or use them for the prisoners' own purposes.

The collaboration of the 26-County state is highlighted. Those who were not recaptured within a short space of time (about half of the escapees) have had to stay on the run. The 26-County neo-colonial state has even handed back Paul Kane. With the recent collapse of Christopher Black's evidence, he should have been a free man, but the 26-County neo-colonialists have sent him back to the Six Counties on the sole charge of escaping from a sentence that has been quashed.

Dunne reckons these people have played an important role in reorganising the IRA, allowing it to step up its activity again after a period of heavy blows from the RUC and British Army. His examples are convincing. Padraig McKearney in particular was involved with developing the strategy of targetting isolated RUC barracks so that a 'third phase' of the struggle could be achieved in



which isolated pockets of resistance could be held. Between January 1984 and the end of 1986, 70 such attacks were mounted.

However, Gerry Kelly, one of the escapees, recently told *FRFI* that he would see the significance of the escape differently:

'It had a great political impact... the morale among nationalists was low and the escape did a lot to change that. It showed that prisoners and the Republican Movement could, in a period when things were bad, hit the Brits back in a place where they felt safest.'

But as to the role of individuals:

'I could think of people who got out

who had a great effect on the movement, but if the insinuation is that the Republican Movement really needed them, the movement has gone on for a very long time and has lost a lot of its best people through assassination, hunger strikes or into gaol. We are a confident people. There is no one person who is not expendable in the sense that we cannot do without them.'

Some of the escapees have fallen victim to Britain's shoot-to-kill strategy. On 8 May 1987 Padraig McKearney died during the 22nd attack that year. All eight IRA men were shot dead by the SAS at Loughgall RUC barracks.

Most of Britain's assassinations have gone unnoticed outside of the Six Counties, contracted out to Loyalist murder-gangs supplied with all the necessary details from military intelligence or the RUC to carry them out. One such assassination was the shooting of Larry Marley – Papillon – who masterminded the Escape from the Maze, an utterly selfless act in which he could not directly participate. The character-study here of Larry Marley is a monument to the calibre of the politics and people involved in the IRA, and the description of his funeral a testimony to the political level and determination of the nationalist people whose cutting edge is the armed campaign of the IRA against the British occupation forces. ■

*Out of the Maze* by Derek Dunne. Gill and Macmillan, 170pp., £6.95, 1988.



## Prisoners League Association

Domenyk Noonan has written to *FRFI* to ask us to publicise the work of a newly-formed group, the Prisoners' League Association.

The intentions of the PLA are to:

1. Initiate litigations against governors and prison staff for mistreatment of prisoners ranging from contravention of prisoners rights to assault.
2. Picket prisons where mistreatment is most rife.
3. Arrange cheap or free transport and, where necessary, overnight accommodation for prison visitors with financial or transport difficulties.
4. Publish a newsletter containing amendments to prison rules and rights of prisoners.

The PLA intends to be fully active in January 1990. Between October and November a bus service will be in operation from Liverpool and Manchester to Wakefield, Full Sutton and Frankland. If support is good more bus services will be introduced from other towns.

The PLA would like to hear from prisoners, their families and friends, both those needing support and those prepared to offer it to others.

Write to PLA, 3 Althouse, Cheetnam, Manchester 8.

## MURDER ON THE ROCK

HOW THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT GOT AWAY WITH MURDER  
BY MAXINE WILLIAMS

64pp, £2.50 plus 40p p&p

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# Branded with a tag

On 17 August Richard Hart from Nottingham became the first person in Britain to be monitored by electronic tagging. The first candidate for the pilot scheme was rejected after his landlady refused to grant access to her home to Securicor who are administering the project. Nicki Jameson reports.

Richard Hart himself spent an extra night in custody waiting for the monitoring equipment to be installed in his home. And a few days after the start of his sentence the police turned up early in the morning claiming he had broken his bail conditions. The electronic equipment - installed by Marconi who are being paid £220,000 for servicing the Nottingham scheme along with the one to open in North Tyneside in September - was malfunctioning.

Like privatised prisons, electronic tagging began in the USA. The first scheme was introduced in 1983 and 32 states now use tagging. There are a variety of systems, some using voice identification or programmed wrist-watches; the most common, however, and that being tried in Britain, works as follows: the subject wears a transmitter around the neck, wrist or ankle which sends out a continuous radio signal over a range of 150 to 200 feet. This is picked up by a receiver attached to the subject's telephone which automatically relays a signal to a monitoring computer. If the signal is interrupted other than during an authorised period of time (eg when the subject is out at work) the computer registers a breach and notifies the operator.

Most US states charge participants up to \$15 a day for being tagged. The typical subject is male, convicted of drunk driving, a first offender and a home owner.

While the US schemes are mainly used for sentenced prisoners, the pilot schemes in Britain are being sold as an alternative to remand in custody. With the largest prison population in Europe and new gaols being constructed at an alarming



Richard Hart with wife Susan after his release

rate, though still not fast enough to prevent hundreds remaining incarcerated in police cells, the British government has to at least appear to be concerned about reducing the numbers on remand. The main supposed advantages of tagging are that the subject is not removed from his family or community, avoids the stigma of a prison sentence and can continue to work and earn money.

The disadvantages are far greater. In the USA there has been a disturbingly high rate of alcohol and drug

abuse and battering of wives and children committed by those electronically curfewed in their own homes for prolonged periods of time. No research appears to have been done into the long-term psychological effects of tagging, either on the subject or on their family.

The whole 'big brother' style operation, far from avoiding stigma, is likely to make the participant feel degraded and humiliated.

A major and frequent reason for refusing bail is that a defendant is either homeless or his/her home circumstances are felt to be unsatisfactory. The efficiency of electronic tagging as a means of reducing remand in custody is therefore severely limited as a stable home address is a prerequisite for participation in the scheme. Home Office minister John Patten kindly explained in an answer to a parliamentary question in June this year that participants who fulfilled all other criteria but did not have a telephone would have one installed free of charge. It would be used solely for communication with the central monitoring station and an electronic barrier at the telephone exchange would prevent use for personal calls!

There is a serious danger that instead of being an alternative to remand in custody, tagging will be used on men and women who would otherwise have been bailed with less restrictive conditions including non-electronically monitored curfews. Similarly, if used in future as a punishment for convicted prisoners, there is a frightening possibility that, as happened with community service orders, tagging will substitute for less serious punishments such as fines rather than for imprisonment. ■

## Garth Prison the inside story

The following account has been sent to us by a prisoner in HMP Garth:

'HMP Garth was officially opened three months ago by Lord Whitelaw but the prison has been open since September 1988. It is staffed mainly by prison officers in their early 20s straight from training college. The public no doubt thinks we are having a whale of a time in here with one con to a cell, with toilet and washing facilities, but it is a farce.

'A prisoner was placed on report, lost remission, was fined and spent days down the block as punishment for taking another man's ration, even though he was given permission by the other prisoner. Yet prison officers, some senior, literally help themselves to inmates' food. The food itself is deplorable: overcooked or undercooked and pieces of wood have been found in it. In the dining area there is no accessible fire-fighting equipment or first aid kit. On the day the prison was opened by Whitelaw, the media reported alarm bells being rung by inmates 'for a laugh' and to disrupt the opening. Unbeknown to the public, it was nearly a riot situation because inmates were fed up with the food and 130 inmates on West Wing refused to leave the dining area.

'A steady stream of lifers and long-term prisoners is arriving at

Garth and there have already been many close shaves in which prison officers have used riot shields and batons to get prisoners to the secure unit. On the arrival of Lord Whitelaw inmates from West Wing were silently spirited away by baton-wielding officers. It is my opinion that HMP Garth was rushed open to alleviate the over-crowding in other dispersal prisons.

'Prisoners are banged up all day if not working. They are allowed out for half an hour in the morning. We never see the sun. Prisoners from different wings are not allowed to mingle. Paranoia is developing. There have been two serious cell fires and again there are no fire assembly points, no water or sand buckets and all the extinguishers are locked away.

'Mail for prisoners at HMP Garth is being delivered to HMP Wymott which is next door and is therefore delayed and interfered with.

'We have women prison officers patrolling wings and laughing and joking when looking into the urinals and toilets. The doors are only four feet high and you are visible from every angle. This may sound funny but I can assure you it is a degrading experience.

'These are just a few of the grievances of inmates at Garth prison'. ■

## A MESSAGE FROM THE RED DRAGON PRISONERS

In a previous issue of *FRFI* a copy of our Red Dragon notice was published. We're getting closer to publication and one of the features we plan to have is an international (as well as US/Canadian) listing of class struggle political prisoners interested in corresponding with other comrades in and out of prison. If this interests you and applies, send your name, address, political affiliation (Anarchist, Marxist-Leninist, Nationalist, etc) and languages you can correspond in. For this listing we specifically seek prisoners incarcerated for political reasons and actions. Please send inquiries to: Paul Wright # 930783, PO Box 520, 8-C-14, Walla Walla, WA 99362, USA.

## PRISONERS BIRTHDAYS

2 September: Gerry McGeogh, JVA Frankenthal, via Ermittlungsrichter am BGH, Herrenstrasse 45a, 7500 Karlsruhe, West Germany.

22 September: Martin Brady, 119087, HMP Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX.

25 September: Vincent Donnelly, 274064, HMP Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ.

29 September: Danny McNamee, L48616, HMP Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS.

## INSIDE NEWS

### CENSORSHIP IN US PRISON

The Washington State prison at Walla Walla has refused to allow prisoner Paul Wright *FRFI* on the grounds that it 'advocates the overthrow of the US and UK governments,' despite the fact that the authorities were unable to cite the pages and words which contain such intent. Paul is appealing to the Director of Prisons but is not optimistic as books by Marx and Lenin have already been confiscated from his cell, together with his own political writings.

### POLICE CELLS

So much for the end to remand in police cells promised at the end of last year by Douglas Hurd. On 14 June 215 prisoners were being held in police cells.

### NEW PRISON OPEN

HMP Downview, situated on the site of the former Banstead mental hospital is now open and receiving prisoners. When fully operational it will house 332 prisoners, mainly convicted Category C, but also remands.

A new local prison, HMP Highdown, is due to open on the same site in 1991.

### JOE WHITTY

The grapevine tells us that TV documentary star Joe Whitty is leaving Long Lartin to become governor of another controversial establishment, the Feltham establishment for young offenders.

### DEATH IN HOLLOWAY

Holloway staff refused to send a pregnant woman to hospital when she entered a difficult labour. Instead, Olafunmilayo Olatunbosun was given a painkiller and left in a cell for 33 hours. When eventually taken to the Whittington hospital in North London, the baby was born dead.

### SAMMY RALSTON

Greetings and good luck to Sammy Ralston, currently on trial in Aberdeen for allegedly assaulting the governor of Craiginchies prison in January this year.

### ARMLEY SUSPENSIONS

Three prison officers at Armley have been suspended on full pay following allegations of brutality. Earlier this year six young remand prisoners were driven to suicide at the centre and countless others have attempted it.

## TERRY O'HALLORAN MEMORIAL FUND

The RCG has launched a Memorial Fund to commemorate Terry's life and contribution to the political movement in Britain.

Terry played an important part in fighting for the rights of prisoners. The Terry O'Halloran Memorial Fund will be used to provide books and publications for prisoners at their request.

We plan to produce a special book plate for each book.

Please fill in the form below if you wish to donate.

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to The Terry O'Halloran Memorial Fund

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# Yilmaz Güney 1937-1984

Five years ago this September, Turkey's best known film maker Yilmaz Güney died of cancer in Paris at the age of 47. Güney is remembered today for his outstanding and highly acclaimed films such as 'The Herd', 'Yol' (The Way) and 'The Wall', and also as a revolutionary democrat and fighter against oppression. His films remain banned to this day by the Turkish government.

Güney was born into a Kurdish family in 1937. He later recalled, 'I remember two things very clearly about my childhood. The first was being Kurdish and the repression we suffered as a result. The second was poverty and the deprivation that went with it. These memories have guided me throughout my life.'

Starting work in the film industry, carrying reels of film on his back to remote villages, Güney rose to become one of the most famous cinema idols in Turkey. He was frequently mobbed by admirers if he appeared in public.

In an interview in 1984, Güney recalled a choice he had had to make. 'There were two paths in front of me. I could either go on as I was, as a famous and popular film star making

a lot of money. Or, I could try to fulfil the real needs of the people. This would be a risky thing to do. As an honest person I chose the latter.'

Güney became committed to communicating with a mass audience, using film as a political weapon to expose the real causes of oppression and misery. As a result, the Turkish state imprisoned Güney for terms amounting to 12 years. Yet three of his last four films, including 'Yol', were planned and scripted in prison.

Finally, after being framed and imprisoned for the murder of a judge, Güney escaped to France in 1982. The following year the Thatcher government affirmed its support for the fascist Turkish state by refusing Güney permission to enter the UK to attend a film festival.

'The Wall' was the last film Güney made before he died. It is a harrowing film, portraying the systematic torture and oppression in Turkish prisons following the fascist coup of 1980.

Güney's great artistry lives on today in the brilliant films he has left us. Future generations will continue to be moved and inspired by them.

Bill Bolloten



Part of the FRFI contingent marching in Belfast this August

## Organise with FRFI

LORNA REID

In August RCG members and supporters marched in London and West Belfast for troops out of Ireland and self determination for the Irish people. We supported demonstrations called by the Irish Freedom Movement on 5 August and Time To Go on 12 August. The IFM called on supporters of Irish freedom to boycott the Time To Go demonstration as it was organised by prominent Labour Party members who refused to campaign around the demand for Irish self-determination and restricted their campaigning slogan to Time To Go.

The RCG disagrees with the approach of the IFM. We believe that the British left has a central responsibility to build a movement in support of Irish self-determination. All those who wish to see this should have united to build as large a march as possible on the 20th Anniversary of British troops going into Ireland. The sectarians of both the left and the right prevented this. The proof of the pudding is in the eating - the numbers brought out on to the streets. Neither the allegedly broad Time To Go (8000) nor the allegedly 'pure' IFM (2000) built politically significant marches. Faced with this situation the RCG decided to attend both marches in order to reach an audience interested in Ireland and raise the question of building an open and united movement for Irish self-determination.

On the same weekend as the Time To Go demonstration RCG members and supporters took part in the annual anti-internment commemoration in Belfast organised by the Republican Movement. Over the weekend our delegation actively participated in the West Belfast Community Festival and were warmly welcomed by the nationalist community of Springhill. We attended three meetings including a cultural event which centred on the spirit of resistance of Republican POWs expressed in poetry, song and art. We had a discussion with IRSP representatives and many informal discussions with supporters of the Republican movement.

We attended a series of workshops organised by the delegation from the Troops Out Movement. At the workshop on the media censorship of Sinn Féin, TOM members told us we could not sell our newspaper to those attending the workshop - so much for the democratic right to free speech. Over the weekend we sold a total of 400 copies of *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* and 200 copies of

our book, *Murder on the Rock*.

RCG supporters also attended the demonstration in Dublin to commemorate 20 years of British troops on the streets of the Six Counties of Ireland.

On our return we held a FRFI Readers and Supporters group to report back on the delegation. Delegation members gave eyewitness accounts of the weekend's events in Belfast and the demonstration in Dublin.



He does? Do you? Read FRFI

### FIGHTING THE POLL TAX

A local RCG member with others launched the Gillingham and Heaton Anti-Poll Tax Group in Bradford in July. 100 local people attended the first meeting. Asian and white working class people voted overwhelmingly to campaign for non-payment. Their poll tax is estimated to be £343 per person - the average rates for the area is £198 per household. An Asian man said he knew he faced losses from his pension, social security and even prison but he was prepared to make all these sacrifices as long as he knew there were others behind him giving him support. These sentiments are widespread and can lay the basis for organised resistance to the Poll Tax.

Unfortunately, the Militant controlled Lothian Anti-Poll Tax Federation is actively excluding local activists who fall outside Militant's political control. The Muirhouse Community Resistance Against the Poll Tax was refused affiliation to the

Federation on the spurious grounds that an Anti-Poll Tax Union already existed in their area. The activists argued that they had set up their local group in order to expand the work of the Federation in their area but this failed to impress the Militant sectarians. Militant, eager to win the approval of their big brothers in the Labour Party are determined that they will restrict the involvement of those they do not politically agree with.

The RCG has consistently argued that the fight against the Poll Tax requires open and democratic methods of campaigning which put to the fore the interests of those who cannot afford to pay. Only such a movement has the possibility of effectively challenging the poverty and misery to be inflicted on the poorest sections of the working class as a result of the implementation of the Poll Tax. The RCG is committed to a campaign of non-registration, non-implementation and non-payment.

### RCG DAYSCHOOLS

RCG dayschools are being held in September to discuss the crisis of socialism in the socialist countries. We will be discussing the relationship between socialism and imperialism and examining different approaches to the survival of socialism that exist amongst the socialist countries. The dayschools will be held in Manchester on 10 September and in London on 17 September. Readers of FRFI who would like to attend should contact the RCG for further details.

The RCG, while recognising the crisis of communism, refuses to applaud the abandonment of socialism. We oppose the growth of capitalist trends in Hungary, Poland, China or anywhere else. We stand by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and defend them from attack from both the ruling class and the petit-bourgeois forces of the so-called British left. We carry forward the principles of anti-imperialism and socialism through the pages of *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* and in our practical campaigning work.

To be effective in the task of defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism we constantly require support from our readers and supporters. In particular, we require financial support. We are asking all our readers to contribute a donation to the work of the RCG this month. We have to raise £1,000 in September. We need your help to do it. Make your donations to *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* and send them to: FRFI, BCM box 5909, London WC1N 3XX.

## Denis Rosen

Denis Rosen died on 2 July in Botswana where he had been teaching for almost two years. He was killed on a road near his home in suspicious circumstances.

As a teacher in Hackney, London, he was an active trade unionist. He was a committed member of Islington Anti-Racist Anti-Fascist Action, involved in fighting the racist terror inflicted on Bengali families on the Highbury Estate.

He was an active supporter of City AA and the Non-Stop Picket. He joined City AA in 1984 and immediately participated in the campaign to break the police ban on demonstrating outside the South African embassy. He also broke another ban in 1985 and was there when the Non-Stop picket began in 1986.

*Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* salutes the dedication of Denis in the fight against racism. Always remembered.



## Help FRFI raise £1000 in September

Do you want to help our activities and the production of our revolutionary newspaper, *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!*. We need to raise £1000 in September.

### YOU CAN HELP!

Send us a donation towards our work - campaigning against the poll tax, against apartheid in South Africa and racism in Britain, against British rule in Ireland, and imperialist oppression throughout the world: producing the best anti-imperialist newspaper in Britain.

IF FRFI MATTERS TO YOU, THEN SUPPORT IT WITH A DONATION.

IF FIGHTING FOR COMMUNISM MATTERS TO YOU - then so does *FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!*

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# LETTERS

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

## Readers and Supporters Groups

### LONDON

#### A NEW PATH FOR SOCIALISM?

**Speaker Trevor Rayne**  
(FRFI editorial board)  
**Wednesday 20 September, 7.30pm**

Friends Meeting House, St. Martins Lane, WC2, near Trafalgar Square. (nearest tube Leicester Square).

### MANCHESTER

#### POLAND: COMMUNISM IN CRISIS

**Wednesday 13 September, 7.30pm.**

The Millstone, Thomas Street, off Tib Street, Manchester City Centre.

Manchester Readers and Supporters Groups are held every fortnight. For details contact Manchester FRFI, PO Box 80, Manchester M60 1RY.

For details of FRFI Readers and Supporters Groups in your area please contact FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX or phone 01 837 1688.

### BRADFORD

#### GIRLINGTON AND HEATON ANTI-POLL TAX GROUP MEETING

**Sunday 24 September 2pm**  
Girlington Centre.  
ALL WELCOME

### RCG DAYSCHOOLS

#### THE CRISIS OF WORLD SOCIALISM

**Speakers: Eddie Abrahams and Trevor Rayne.**

**Manchester:** Sunday 10 September  
**London:** Sunday 17 September

For more details contact FRFI.

### CITY AA AGM

#### CITY OF LONDON ANTI-APARTHEID GROUP ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

**Saturday 23 and Sunday 24 September.**

Camden Town Hall, Bidborough Street, London NW1.

For details phone City AA on 01 837 6050 or write to City AA, BM CAA, London WC1N 3XX.

## LARKIN BOOKS

**The revolutionary road to communism in Britain** (Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Group) 175pp, £1.50 plus 40p p&p

**Miners Strike 1984-85 People versus State** by David Reed and Olivia Adamson. 144pp, special offer £1 plus 40p p&p

**Viraj Mendis Life or Death?** Edited by Eddie Abrahams and Viraj Mendis. 48pp, £1.50 plus 30p p&p

**NEW PUBLICATIONS:**  
**A new path for socialism? Revolutionary renewal in the Soviet Union and Cuba.** By David Reed and Trevor Rayne. 21pp, £1.00 plus 28p p&p.  
**Value and Price in Marx's Capital** by David Yaffe. A Revolutionary Communist reprint. 19pp, £1.00 plus 28p p&p.

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## China: Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat

Comrade Cohen suggests in *FRFI* 87 that it is the lack of experience the Chinese people have of bourgeois democracy which has led to the problems faced by the Communist Party of China (CPC).

Surely, it is not so much a familiarity with bourgeois democracy which China lacks as the material legacy of capitalist development. Classical Marxist theory shows how socialism can develop out of the explosive transformation of the capitalist mode of production. In China however, it was not capitalism's internal contradictions that, having exhausted all possibilities, caused the system to explode. The struggle against national oppression and imperialist exploitation unleashed the explosion, conscious action did the rest. This development in the



world revolutionary process, foreseen by Lenin, resulted from the triumph of opportunism in the more developed capitalist countries.

The first problem for the Chinese masses was to begin the long process of constructing the economic base for socialism. Underdevelopment, on the one hand, and the flight of capital, on the other, made a rapid transition impossible.

Comrade Cohen points to mass campaigns and economic reforms that have, in different periods, been instigated in socialist China. He counterposes these measures to the development of socialist democracy and 'legality', eventually posing the choice as bourgeois dictatorship or socialist democracy. But the reality is that the transition can only be carried out under the exclusive rule of the working class and poor peasantry: the choice is, in fact, between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The leadership of the Chinese working class, the CPC, has been beset with difficulties in its efforts to build socialism without the aid of an industrial economy. The major developments which have affected Chinese economic development reflect this. The lapse in Sino-Soviet relations; the Great Leap Forward; the Cultural Revolution; the Open Door policy - each results from different attempts to grapple with the very real problems of overcoming this weakness. Given this reality, it certainly

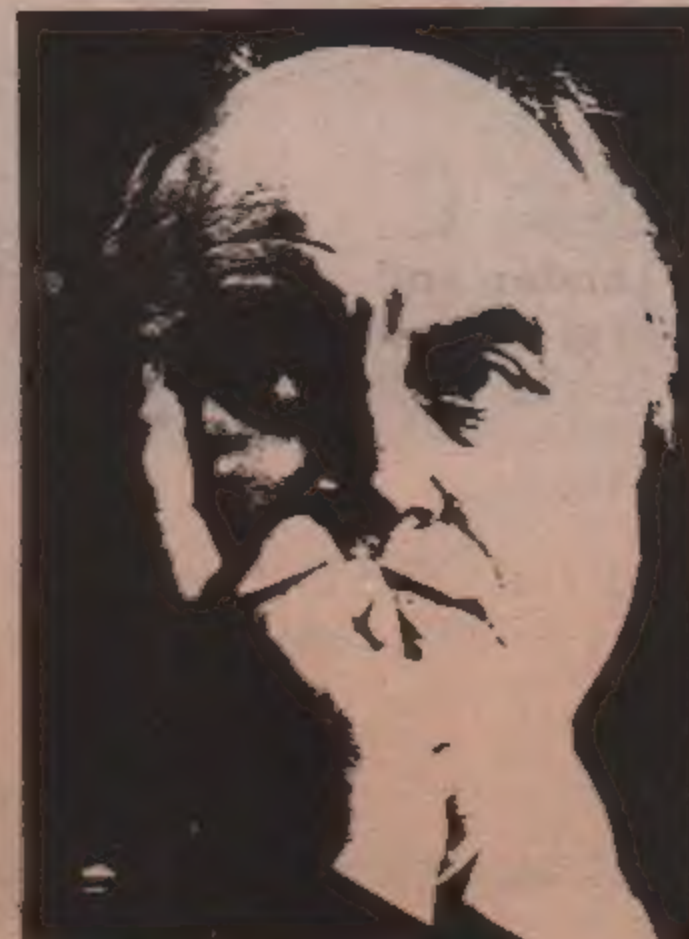
doesn't help to compare Deng Xiaoping with the viciously anti-working class, arch-imperialist Margaret Thatcher as comrade Cohen does. The fact is that whatever the source of the discontent among those demonstrating in Tiananmen Square, their political demands, if met, would not serve to advance the conditions of Chinese workers and peasants. Freedom of the press; greater 'democracy'; pluralist government, are all demands which would serve the interests of those bourgeois elements hitherto denied the freedom to impose their interests on the whole of Chinese society.

An end to corruption in the Chinese government is a demand raised by the CPC itself. China's communist leadership still faces many problems but the source of these problems lies in the historical reality of the Chinese revolution taking place as it has in an economically underdeveloped country. The strength of the Communist Party will determine the outcome ■  
**BEN WILLIAMS**  
Manchester

## TUC - right arm of the Tories

It is the time of year when I renew my subscription to your excellent publication and I always find myself reflecting on the year gone by, and what it has meant to the working class. It is a long time since I could call to mind anything that gave cause for optimism for the short term future at least. We have seen yet another round of attacks on the trade unions and until very recently the only reaction from the trade union movement was to back pedal even further. In all this time the TUC has played its usual role as the right arm of the Tory party whose job, it would appear, is to stifle any progressive tendency within the movement. They also stand shoulder to shoulder with the government on the censorship issue, and have succeeded in stifling any discussions on Ireland year after year.

Every attempt that is made to get the matter on the agenda is met with a tirade of hatred, bigotry, and racism, which would arouse envy within the ranks of the National Front. However that is hardly surprising since the same TUC lined up with the most reactionary government the



country has ever seen to beat and starve the miners into submission thus paving the way for the destruction of the pits and the communities that depended on them for a livelihood and dignity.

At the time of writing a similar fate is being worked out for the railwaymen and again the Tories have every confidence that they can count on the acquiescence of the good old TUC.

The Labour Party have about-turned, jumped through hoops and stood on their heads to appeal to the most base element of the electorate and now have nothing left to offer in the way of respite for the working class. Again with the few honourable exceptions the hatred and bigotry they

display towards the Irish people is always designed to prove themselves better imperialists than their Tory counterparts. Irish people who remember the 70s have good cause to tremble at the thought of a Kinnock-led Labour Party coming to power and will no doubt abstain in large numbers when the next general election is held.

On domestic issues also the Labour Party has sat on the fence or aligned themselves with the Tories on most major issues such as the Poll Tax, or the NHS. It is indeed not a very inspiring outlook, when all principle, all traditional aspirations has to go out of the window in the overriding quest to get Kinnock to 10 Downing Street.

As we look around the rest of the political scene the situation is almost equally depressing. We have the CPGB, the New Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party and a lot of others who, like the Catholic Bishops, are very selective in their condemnation of imperialism or violence on anything that may offend their sensibilities. Like snivelling cowards they will not confront the institutionalised state violence which sees countless young people locked up for very

long terms on little or no evidence and subjected strip searching and other degrading practices amounting to a level of torture which drives many to the point where they take their own lives.

But of course since this form of treatment applies most strictly to Irish or black prisoners these organisations find it expedient to look the other way. The sad thing is that within the ranks of these organisations there are many good people the voices of whom are stifled by leadership who wish to appear respectable and acceptable in a capitalist society.

It is a pity that all these people who are sincere in their opposition to racism and imperialism cannot find it in themselves to break with the pro-imperialist leadership and rally behind the RCG thus building a mass organisation which would be powerful enough to brush aside the Kinnocks and Willises of this country and get to grips with the real enemies of the people of this land, Ireland and indeed mankind in general.

Sadly the day seems far off, but if we did not believe in it there would be nothing left but the despair which has driven so many young people to taking their own lives. Our day will come.  
**M MURTAGH**  
Surrey

## Thatcher's victims

Whilst picketing outside the racist South African embassy an old lady walked by, looked at us and shouted 'I'm 62 years old, out on the streets and does anyone demonstrate for me?'

Ever since then I've thought about this incident and concluded that she is one of the thousands of victims of Thatcher's 'Economic miracle' (sic) while a mile or two down the road hundreds of flats stand empty and boarded up in Westminster while Lady Porter and her money hungry ilk wait for a developer to turn them into luxury apartments for Tory voters.

This is a pointless exercise. Why? When will this idiot government realise that a reshuffle to throw out the incompetent fools in the lower orders (and not right at the top where it's really needed) does not wash with the public anymore, nor does its estate agent philosophy and advertising agent mentality. Can't she see that privatisation of life's essentials, the wanton destruction of a once envied NHS, Poll Tax and handbagging the unions/Europe



or anyone else who gets in her way for that matter - annoy people now.

People used to think she was the bee's knees because of their newly found prosperity and consumer spending power but now they sing a different tune, 'What's she going to privatise next? Air?!' I've heard it said quite often now.

They are catching on now, so we must not miss this chance to educate people that this so-called 'Miracle' has been bought at the expense of society's oppressed sections, such as the lady I mentioned earlier - the victims of police oppression, Irish POWs and the gay community.  
**STUART BUCKWELL**  
Chatham, Kent



## Write to:

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or ring:  
01-837 1688**

## Join the action join the RCG

- A movement must be built in Britain in solidarity with the struggling peoples of Ireland, South Africa, Palestine. Help us to do this - **Join the RCG!**
- A movement must be built here in Britain which stands with the oppressed fighting racism, repression and poverty. Help build this movement - **Join the RCG!**
- A movement must be built which challenges and defeats the treachery of the opportunist British Labour and trade union movement - **Join the RCG!**

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## POLAND

# Solidarity takes power

The imperialists and their allies in Poland were jubilant. Newspaper headlines informed us of the 'end of communism', the 'collapse of the Soviet empire' and the beginning of 'democracy and freedom'. Professor Bronislaw Geremek representing Solidarity's almost fascist trend said: 'For the first time in 45 years, a Polish government is to be formed on Polish soil, by non-communist forces. The monopoly of the Party which ruled Poland against the will of the people has been broken.'

The Polish people however were not cheering. Even bourgeois observers noted that there was 'little evidence of jubilation' the people having 'run out of enthusiasm' for Solidarity and for politics in general. They are concerned more with the massive price rises on essential items which flow from the 'market reforms' which the new government is bent on accelerating.

Mazowiecki, at his inauguration, proclaimed that he would strive for 'really innovative solutions' to Poland's vast economic problems and foreign debt of \$40bn. These amounted to nothing more than 'implementing the market economy' and systematically dismantling the once socialist foundations of Poland's economy. The new government will move to abolish all subsidies and lift all price controls. It will accelerate the process of selling off socially owned forces of production to the parvenu Polish bourgeoisie or to international capital. In addition loss-making firms will be closed down and unemployment will increase dramatically. While a tiny minority will thus continue to enrich itself, the majority of the working class will again begin to experience biting poverty and hunger. Is it

**The Polish Communist Party (formally known as the PUWP – Polish United Workers Party) has peacefully surrendered power to the bourgeois and counter-revolutionary forces at the head of Solidarity. On Thursday 24 August, the Sejm (the Polish Parliament), with only four Communists voting against, confirmed Solidarity lawyer and journalist Tadeuz Mazowiecki as Prime Minister. Anti-communist and anti-socialist Solidarity leader Lech Walesa expressed precisely the political significance of this development: 'Nobody has previously taken the road that leads from socialism to capitalism. We are setting out to do just that.' EDDIE ABRAHAMS looks at the consequences.**



Lech Walesa (anti-communist) with President Bush (anti-communist) – best of friends!

at all surprising that this 'freedom and democracy' to make a minority rich is greeted with indifference by the majority?

The imperialists meanwhile are turning a deaf ear to the new government's request for \$10bn aid for the next three years. Rather than bailing out the Polish economy with aid, Bush and Thatcher want it opened up even further and more resolutely to private imperialist capital. They are confident that their lackeys in Solidarity will toe the line. That the workers and the poor will suffer bothers them not at all. All they are interested in is

repayments on Poland's debt and investment opportunities for their capitalists and financiers.

### THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM

It is a tragedy for Polish and international communism that the Polish Communist Party proved incapable of winning the confidence and loyalty of the Polish working class. Disillusioned with the PUWP it turned to Solidarity whose bourgeois leadership manipulated and exploited, for its own counter-revolutionary

ends, the genuine grievances of the Polish working class.

As the Party lost its working class support, it was more or less captured by elements in the state and industrial apparatus who, to preserve their own privileges and enrich themselves, turned to the capitalist road. In a significant article the Deputy editor of *Polityka*, the Communist Party newspaper, Daniel Passent wrote: 'Ever since Solidarity's birth in 1980 the Party has been in retreat. The Communist Manifesto has been shelved and nobody mentions the dictatorship of the proletariat (while)

Party newspapers and politicians praise the private and market economy instead of the state one . . .'

As a result, the Party became 'an organisation of directors, managers and officers' totally divorced from the working class. It was used, by its leading personnel, as a vehicle to secure a position for themselves in a bourgeois Poland. Stories of Communist Party members who were managers and directors of state enterprises taking them over as private property are legion. It is not surprising that such a Party is hated and treated with contempt.

Despite these terrible developments, socialism in Poland is by no means dead. Let us quote again from Daniel Passent's article: 'The left in Poland will not perish completely. Socialism left durable traces in people's consciousness. The trend towards reprivatisation – the re-establishment of private schools, the rich villas and limousines of the new bourgeoisie, the Church's great influence, the revival of right-wing nationalism and obscurantism, deeper and deeper poverty and the spectre of unemployment in a market economy – will create a climate for the left's revival. This will be a new left, smaller but more authentic than the traditional model of the past . . .'

Developments in Poland are being watched closely by capitalist and working class forces internationally. In the socialist countries in particular, the working class movement will study with care the fate of its comrades in Poland. And as it sees the depredations and devastations wrought by the market reforms, it will hopefully reject those who are proposing the same for their own countries. ■

## NAZI-SOVIET PACT

# Reactionaries rewrite history

British and French foreign policy in the 1930s centred on appeasing the Fascist powers. The policy emanated from sections of the ruling class which recognised the 'right' of German demands within central Europe, and rejected the constraints that the Versailles Treaty imposed on Germany. Therefore, the Nazis were able to remilitarise the Rhineland, annex Austria and the Sudetenland (German-speaking area of Czechoslovakia); and perhaps most importantly, were allowed a free hand in support of the fascist forces in Spain. This section of the British ruling class also supported the German claim to recover the free city of Danzig (now Gdansk) and annex it to East Prussia, thus denying Poland access to the sea.

By March 1939 war was imminent when the Czechoslovakian state fell apart and Hitler imposed control over the whole country. Also in March the Nazis seized Memel, a port in the German-speaking area of Lithuania. Appeasement, rather than satisfying German 'national rights' had only encouraged German imperialist expansion in Eastern Europe.

Such expansionism threatened the Soviet Union, which sought diplomatic and military alliances with Britain and France. In March 1939 contacts between the Soviet Union and

**In recent weeks the bourgeois press and various Trotskyite rags have joined forces in a resounding chorus of anti-sovietism and deceit. It all concerns the 50th anniversary of the German-Soviet pact of 23 August 1939, and the plight of those 'oppressed' nationalities in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. In the *Independent*, a certain LSE professor, Donald Cameron Watt even suggests that the Soviet Union's act of 'treachery' impelled the world to war (see the *Independent* 21 August 1989). DALE EVANS clarifies the issues.**

Britain on the issue of collective security began. On 21 March the British government proposed a four-power declaration (Britain, France, Poland and the Soviet Union) that consultations would take place if any country came under threat. Poland rejected this, and proposed to the British a bilateral Polish-British agreement. Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister announced the famous guarantee to Poland in the House of Commons on 31 March. It was a worthless alliance which did not add one iota to European security, weakened the position of the Soviet Union and appeased the parochial Poles. Hitler was not impressed and merely tore up existing treaties between Germany and Poland and Britain. In the middle of April 1939 the Soviet Union proposed a mutual assistance pact which included France. The rejection of the so-called Litvinov (the Soviet foreign minister) plan led to his resignation and replacement by Molotov.

Later attempts at a British-French-

Soviet pact came to nothing and outwardly stalled on the right of access for Soviet troops to fight on foreign soil, in particular Poland. In reality the negotiations were of a low diplomatic status, and were a ploy by Chamberlain to satisfy British public opinion after much criticism of the government's failure to conclude a treaty with the Soviet Union.

The leadership of the Soviet Union faced a major strategic problem. If the Soviet Union became embroiled in a war with Germany, it faced the task of defending itself on a front stretching from the Baltic states to Rumania in the Balkans. In June 1939 both Latvia and Estonia, which were governed by anti-Soviet dictatorships, signed friendship treaties with the Nazis. The lack of a significant response from the British government forced the leadership of the Soviet Union to respond to diplomatic contacts from Germany. The future of socialism depended on its success in keeping the Soviet Union out of any European

conflagration.

Nazi-Soviet contacts began in late May. Ribbentrop, the Nazi foreign minister, arrived in Moscow in August, and a pact was signed on 23 August. A further secret protocol eventually led to the annexation of Eastern Poland, the Baltic States and parts of Rumania by the Soviet Union. This, in the circumstances, was fully justified. Firstly, Eastern Poland contained Byelorussia, and the western Ukraine, areas seized by Poland after the defeat of the Red Army in 1921. The greater land area was an obvious military gain. The Baltic states threatened to be a launching pad for invading the Soviet Union, and in particular threatened the revolutionary city of Leningrad. Secondly German diplomatic interests in the region were wiped out at a stroke. However it is most important to remember that the Baltic states were not fully incorporated into the Soviet Union until June 1940 with the collapse of France and the fear and anxiety this created in the Soviet

Union. With Germany having invaded Denmark and Norway, threatening to invade Sweden, and with Finland already very hostile, the Baltic states and Scandinavia threatened to become an area of complete German control.

The Soviet Union also feared the possibility of war on two fronts. Japan had already conquered most of Manchuria and the Japanese imperialists were friendly with the Nazis. The German-Soviet Pact secured the Soviet Union against this menace – in August 1939 a major clash between the Red Army and Japanese forces had taken place at Khalkin Gol, on the Soviet-Manchurian border.

The German-Soviet pact has today become a *cause celebre* for the reactionary nationalists of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. They are quick to proclaim the 'illegality' of the secret protocol, and use it as the main plank in arguing their right to secede from the Soviet Union. Their failure to defend the Soviet Union's right to take an extraordinary course in 1939 indicates the anti-socialist nature of their cause. It must be remembered that the nationalists of the Baltic states joined the Nazis in their thousands in the summer of 1941. 25,000 Estonians were killed fighting for fascism. ■